AMERICAN ADVISER, THE
Post Office Box 966, Sapulpa, Oklahoma

Monthly news-magazine. Subscription rate $2 per year.

Owner-editor: Glenn O. Young

Published by the New National Printing and Publishing Company

Written mostly by Young, who is vociferously anti-UN, anti-liberal, etc. Young has on several occasions defended Robert Welch's claim that former President Eisenhower was a communist agent or dupe. (American Adviser, 3/1/61, 4/1/61, 2/1/62)

Young lets people know of his support from the John Birch Society (Ibid. 12/61, 1/62) and vice versa. (American Opinion 7/1/61)

Promotes other publications such as, The Freeman, Dan Smoot Report, Human Events, American Opinion, Life Lines, Manion Forum and The Wanderer. (Ibid. 1/62)

AMERICAN STATESMAN, THE 8/3/62
P. O. Box 32, Salt Lake City, Utah

Four-page tabloid newspaper. Monthly or more often. Rate: $5 per year. Estimated circulation 5,242 (Ayer's Directory, 1962)

Publisher and Editor: J. Bracken Lee, Mayor of Salt Lake City and prominent right-wing speaker,

Includes many articles by Lee, plus reprints and writings of such people as Hubbard Russell and Walter Harnischfeger of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee; and T. Coleman Andrews, Gen. Bonner Fellers, Robert Morris, Ronald Reagan, Rosalie Gordon, Kent Courtney and Harry T. Everingham.

The several issues for July 1960 devoted much space to Goldwater for President activity. J. Dohn Lewis, managing editor of American Statesman, was National Chairman of "Goldwater for President Clubs." (American Statesman 6/3/60)

Advertising: Most consistent account appears to be Dr. Ross' Cat Food which supports other ultra-conservative ventures. Other advertisers include Loyd L. Parker, importer of gold coins. "Anyone can give up to $3,000 worth of gold coins to anyone without paying gift or inheritance taxes." (American Statesman 6/61)

Lee often issues appeals for public support claiming difficulty in getting advertising in such a controversial publication.

(Group Research, Inc.)

GRR 7-30-6

A background report:

Americans for Constitutional Action

A political action group with significant ties to the John Birch Society, ACA was formed in 1958, p claiming its goal to offset what it calls the trend to "socialism and the welfare state." Hailing formation of AC Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) implied that its origins lay in part in the National Committee for Political Realignme organized in 1951 by Mundt, former Sen. Owen Brewster (R.-Maine), former Sen. Albert Hawkes (R.-N.J.), a Edward A. O'Neal, past president of the American Farm Bureau Federation. NCPR had urged political un among Northern Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats.

Another ACA ancestor was "The Campaign for the 48 States," set up in 1955 to promote adoption of f constitutional amendments, including an upper limit on the income tax, limit on federal spending, and electo college revision to weaken the voting power of urban areas. The "Campaign" was organized by the late Rep. Ral Gwinn (R.-N.Y.), a right-wing leader who was an initial trustee of ACA. Chairman of the "Campaign" w Robert Snowden, who was to be ACA's first finance chairman and is more recently a John Birch Society endors

ACA's top officers and some of their other right-wing affiliations are:

ADM. BEN MORELL (RET.), Chairman—American Security Council, Campaign for the 48 States, F America, Foundation for Economic Education, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and Young Americans f Freedom.

GEN. BONNER FELLERS (RET.), Vice-Chairman and Secretary—Campaign for the 48 States, Christi Crusade (of Billy James Hargis), Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, For America, Intercollegiate Society of In vidualists, John Birch Society (Committee of Endorsers), and Young Americans for Freedom.

CHARLES EDISON, Treasurer—Conservative Party of N.Y., For America, John Birch Society (Editor Advisory Committee, *American Opinion*), Manion Forum, and Young Americans for Freedom.

Other current or former trustees include:

The late HOWARD BUFFETT, former Congressman (R.-Neb.)—Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, For Am ica, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and John Birch Society (member—Washington *Post* 12/20/61).

PHILIP MCKENNA—Christian Freedom Foundation (of Howard Kershner), Gold Standard Leag Liberty Amendment Committee, and Manion Forum.

FELIX MORLEY—Campaign for the 48 States, America's Future, *Human Events*, and Spiritual Mobilizati

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD (RET.)—American Security Council, America's Future, Campaign for the States, Christian Freedom Foundation, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, For America, *Human Events*, Life Lin and Young Americans for Freedom.

LOYD WRIGHT—Americanism Educational League, American Security Council, and Committee for Co stitutional Government.

ACA Action Program

ACA is perhaps the most politically oriented of right-wing organizations. Adm. Morell states: "T objective of ACA . . . is to elect 'constitutional conservatives' to the Congress of the United States. An ACA repo on 1960 activities listed these specific political activities: activating and training new workers; distributing, pu licizing and suggesting uses for the ACA Index and voting records of other groups; designing special campaign devic and newspaper ads; providing speech material; helping in fund appeals; distribution of printed materials.

During the 1960 campaign, ACA claims it worked in 21 Senate and 159 House campaigns, with 133 bei successful. Its assistance to endorsed candidates tends to be either indirect or in the form of manpower rather th money. In the 1962 elections, ACA claimed that 135 of its 184 candidates won. Direct assistance went to 46 rac in 16 states, with at least 16 ACA-paid field men working in the campaigns. Reportedly, 25 of the 46 campaig were won.

The "ACA Index"

Members of Congress who achieve favorable ratings in the ACA Index receive service awards as well publicity and possible endorsement in their re-election campaigns. The Index is widely distributed, not only ACA, but in reprint form by *Human Events*, oil billionaire H. L. Hunt's Life Lines, and the U. S. Chamber Commerce, among others.

The Index is a percentage rating of each Member of Congress based on his roll-call votes on specific issu *selected by ACA*. In the organization's words, it gives a Member's standing "FOR safeguarding the God-give dignity of the individual and promoting sound economic growth by strengthening constitutional governmen AGAINST 'Group Morality' and a socialized economy through centralization of power."

To achieve a high ACA Index rating, a legislator must vote *against* foreign aid, farm programs, housin unemployment benefits, aid to depressed areas, improved social security, aid to education, federal resource develop ment, almost all social welfare programs, and *for* restriction of labor unions.

As of 1963, the highest ACA Senate ratings (among Senators who have served in more than one Congress) went to John Tower (R.-Texas), Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.), Harry Byrd (D.-Va.), Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.), and John Williams (R.-Del.). Lowest ratings went to Philip Hart (D.-Mich.), Edward Long (D.-Mo.), Maurine Neuberger (D.-Ore.), Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.), Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.), and Pat McNamara (D.-Mich.).

On the House side, again considering only those who have served in more than one Congress, 100% ACA ratings went to 7 Congressmen, all Republicans: Bruce Alger (Tex.), John Ashbrook (Ohio), Ralph Beermann (Neb.), Donald Bruce (Ind.), Paul Findley (Ill.), Elmer Hoffman (Ill.), and H. Allen Smith (Calif.). Given a flat zero are some 14 Democrats: James Corman (Calif.), William Dawson (Ill.), Edward Finnegan (Ill.), Jacob Gilbert (N.Y.), Julia Hansen (Wash.), Joseph Karth (Minn.), John McCormack (Mass.), Lucien Nedzi (Mich.), Arnold Olsen (Mont.), Melvin Price (Ill.), Ralph Rivers (Alaska), Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.), Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.), and William Ryan (N.Y.).

ACA Structure and Finances

ACA also works through local chapters. In 1963 it claimed 29 chapters in 21 states—roughly double the number of chapters reported the previous year. States said to have more than one chapter were Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Dues are set by the local chapter but a portion goes to the national organization, which also collects substantial amounts directly.

From inception through the end of 1963 ACA had collected a total of $621,966 and reported expenditures of $582,611. While its budget in non-election years is generally below the $100,000 mark, it rises substantially when there is a campaign. In 1960, its first presidential election year, ACA spent nearly $188,000. Two years later when only Congressional seats were involved, its spending amounted to $135,000, including more than $28,000 for its "field program."

The leading contributors reported by ACA, and the total amount of their support through 1963, are as follows:

Charles Edison, ACA's Treasurer—$19,200.

Mr. and Mrs. DeWitt Wallace, editors and publishers of the Reader's Digest—$10,050.

Mr. and Mrs. E. Ainsworth Eyre—$8,600. Mr. Eyre has been listed by the John Birch Society as a member of its Committee of Endorsers.

Thomas Jefferson Coolidge—$5,000. Mr. Coolidge has also supported For America and the Foundation for Economic Education.

Mr. and Mrs. Lemuel Boulware—$3,500. Mr. Boulware has also supported the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and Young Americans for Freedom.

J. Howard Pew—$3,000. In addition to being on the Editorial Advisory Committee of *American Opinion*, Mr. Pew has been listed as a stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc., the publisher.

Walter Harnischfeger—$2,700. Mr. Harnischfeger is the Chairman of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and has been a director of both America's Future and the National Economic Council.

Other financial supporters of ACA who are connected with the John Birch Society include George Armstrong, Jr., Frank DeGanahl, Dr. James L. Doenges, Fred Koch, Mrs. Seth Milliken, Albert Penn, Louis Ruthenberg, and Paul Talbert. This pattern has led Sen. Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.) to conclude that "the balance of power at ACA . . . rests on the extremist side" and Rep. Ronald Cameron (D.-Calif.) to charge that "Birch leaders are ACA leaders. Birch money is ACA money. . . . Birch ideology is ACA ideology." (*Congressional Record*, 10/4/62 and 5/20/63) Adm. Moreell has denied that "ACA is dominated by the John Birch Society" but commented that membership in JBS by trustees or supporters of ACA "is a matter which does not concern me." (*Ibid.*, 5/23/63)

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The American Right Wing During 1965

By Wesley McCune
Director of Group Research, Inc.

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Delivered at the Annual Conference on the Critics and the Schools, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., January 17, 1966 and prepared with the assistance of Dr. George W. Rucker and the staff of Group Research, Inc.

1965

While this annual round-up of the right wing was in gestation, I received a newspaper article datelined from Green Bay, Wisconsin, a town best known for championship football, describing the resurgence there of ultraconservatism. The community pattern laid out in the article matched so closely what I see as a national pattern that I have incorporated the entire article in this text (on the opposite page) and urge you to read it at this point, with thanks to an unnamed reporter of the Milwaukee Journal.

Here are the points of the article which I would emphasize as having special national significance:

-- The John Birch Society, as a major militant right-wing group, has increased its printed messages and local outlets for them.

-- The ultraconservatives have learned how to blend into the locality and have become more sophisticated. If they were once unwelcome in many parlors, they are now invited into all kinds of homes.

-- Measuring the strength of the right-wing movement is difficult because many people are unwilling to join measurable organizations, even though they agree.

-- Leadership is not effectively rallying all sympathizers into any one camp.

-- The Goldwater defeat in 1964 did not dismay his adherents; on the contrary, they have turned their talents to community organization of a less partisan nature.

-- The far-right is busily sponsoring community-oriented lectures and gifts of books to schools and libraries.

-- Most people, including politicians, don't know how to assess the influence.

I went along at the time -- and still do -- with two observers of the influence. William Wyant reported in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch last February that "promoters of the ultra-conservative line can be counted on to fish troubled waters with undiminished zeal." And a nonpolitical observer, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, concluded in February of 1965: "The real accomplishment of the Radical Right in 1964 was in the exposure of millions of Americans to its message, in new recruits to its membership ranks, and in a reservoir of potential new recruits built up. . . through their efforts in the Goldwater campaign. . ." As a result, said ADL, the election "left the Radical Right stronger than ever and poised for new propaganda and recruitment drives which are already under way."

Testimony along this line came early from the right wing itself. A member of the National Council of the John Birch Society, Col. Laurence Bunker, said of Goldwater's defeat: "As far as we are concerned, it was only an incident in the war. Even if Goldwater had won, the war would continue."

Dr. Billy James Hargis, head of Christian Crusade, said: "The time is more urgent than ever for informed Americans to intensify their grass roots educational activity."

And Gen. Bonner Fellers, a leader of at least four right-wing groups, said that his colleagues had "just begun to fight."

1. Political activity

With these generalizations and exhortations aside, let us look at the significant developments of the past year.

(a) Established right-wing groups stepped up their political activity. The best example is the John Birch Society. Though still claiming to be educational and not political, JBS announced early last year that it would organize 50 chapters in each of 325 Congressional districts and that it would strive to double its income, as it has each of several years, to cover increased activity of this kind. The declaration implied a budget of $6,000,000 in 1965 and one of $12,000,000 for this year, which would put it above both the Republican and Democratic National Committees in terms of financial resources for the 1966 Congressional elections.

Americans for Constitutional Action has strengthened its ultraconservative punch by hiring a retired D. C. Commissioner, General Thomas Lane, as its President and enlarging its board by 20, including 9 former Congressmen and a medical doctor who is also a Birch leader.

Liberty Lobby, which slugged President Johnson during the 1964 campaign with a widely-circulated tabloid about him, has acquired a more vigorous staff, added many extremists to its board, and stepped up its political voice. So far to the right that it has attacked the Republican leaders in Congress (Senator Dirksen and, at that time, Rep. Halleck), Liberty Lobby's latest political tabloid sings the praises of Alabama's Governor, George Wallace.

(b) New groups have sprung up in the political arena. Three groups of ardent Goldwater fans were organized right after the election. They are:

American Conservative Union, led until recently by former Congressman Donald Bruce (R-Ind). Supported by numerous big names in the right wing, ACU set out to raise $400,000 the first year, although its financial reports to date indicate that it may raise only a little more than half that much.

Free Society Association, headed by Denison Kitchel, Goldwater's campaign manager, with Goldwater's help. Budget plans exceed $2,000,000.

United Republicans of America, a relatively minor group patterned after the GOP faction in California which helped put Goldwater over. URA started in close co-operation with Liberty Lobby, working within the GOP, rather than starting a third party for ultraconservatives.

H. L. Hunt, the oil billionaire who is best known in the right wing for his durable "Life Line" program, announced a new operation called "District Speakers, Inc." This is designed to stimulate young orators in every Congressional district by speaking contests "to alert and activate those who can speak or learn to speak fluently in the cause of preserving the freedom and sovereignty of our nation." In addition to Hunt the executive Committee includes popular singer Pat Boone, TV actor Clint Walker, football player Jack Kemp, Dallas banker Robert H. Stewart III, and veteran right-wing supporter Gen. Robert E. Wood, the retired head of Sears Roebuck.

Young Americans for Freedom, best known as YAF, has been in the political arena since its founding in 1960 as a sort of Goldwater cheering section; but it announced at its 1965 convention the formation of a political action arm, YAFPAC.

In addition, new secret meetings have been disclosed which involve some of the same strategists who started back in 1962 to draft Goldwater. And reports subpoenae by a Congressional Committee after the election disclosed that the American Enterprise Institute received more than $1,000,000 in a two and one-half year period. Although the tax-exempt AEI purports to publish objective material and cannot engage in political activity, Goldwater's top campaign advisers included AEI President William J. Baroody, who is still at AEI, and speech-writer Karl Hess, who was AEI's editor. Contributors of large sums included several tax-exempt foundations and J. Howard Pew, a Birch supporter.

(c) The right wing has shown surprising strength in elections since 1964. It is sometimes difficult, of course, to sort out right-wing activists from ordinary conservatives, with whom this paper is not concerned; but there have been some noteworthy achie ments among the former.

The Conservative Party of New York, led by William Buckley, Jr., National Review editor turned mayorality candidate, got 339,000 votes, or 13.4%, and came very close to deciding the winner. It turned out that he probably aided his chief opponent, liberal Republican John Lindsay, but he set out to swing a bloc of votes and he did do that Lindsay failed to get a majority and won by only 136,000 votes. Meanwhile, the Conserva tive Party hit a new high.

A similar pattern obtained in Virginia, where an unusually strong Republican candidate threatened the long-time Democratic hold on the Governor's office, and the new Conservative Party of that State -- running an avowed Birch Society member -- polled about 70,000 votes, or 13.5%. Again, the Conservative candidate polled more than enough to tip the balance -- Democrat Godwin, who moderated previous positions on segregation, failed to get a majority by 2%. Incidentally, George Lincoln Rockwell, Fuhrer of the American Nazi Party, got 6,312 votes for Governor.

At a Chicago meeting earlier in the year, called by the Courtneys and others pushing for the third party technique for conservatives, nothing was decided firmly; but several local leaders went back to their states to organize Conservative parties outside of the GOP.

Throughout the Southern states, reporters are noting the activity of right-wing groups in the general uprise of Republican candidates which is being augmented by the Democratic adherance to a strong civil rights position. Earlier, during the Presidential campaign, segregationist Governor Wallace, a Democrat, found willing workers among the right-wing leaders of the North as well.

And the most interesting race coming up will center on movie star Ronald Reagan for Governor of California. Besides being a hero to the radical right, an image he is now trying to dissolve, Reagan has been active in several right-wing groups and functions. His last-minute TV appeal for Goldwater was considered the best of the campaign techniques used by the losing candidate.

(d) The right-wing has kept pressure on Congress. One of the main results of any

political activity is, of course, influence on legislation and policy. The right wing has rarely been successful outright in passing or defeating specific measures, however much it may have had indirect influence; but the past year provided an example of quite clear-cut victory for a right-wing group -- defeat of the proposed consular treaty by Liberty Lobby. This was a rather obscure proposal for reciprocal arrangements with other countries for diplomatic business until pressure started being felt on Congress to the effect that the treaty would legalize Russian spying. The picture is blurred somewhat by the fact that expected opponents seized on testimony along this line by the Director of our FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, but it seems clear now that the final blow was delivered by Liberty Lobby in the form of a barrage of alarm mail. Anyway, this far-right group has been credited with the defeat by responsible newspapers and by Senator J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Liberty Lobby and others lost battles against the liberalized immigration bill, but they have not yet lost or won the fight over repeal of 14b (authority for state "right-to-work" laws) or reapportionment, exemplified by the Dirksen bill to curb authority of the Supreme Court to require reapportionment. They are aided chiefly in the reapportionment fight by the nation's largest farm organization, the American Farm Bureau Federation, which has gone so far as to publish a picture of Governor George Wallace helping its well-organized drive for the Dirksen measure.

Personalities have also become involved in right-wing attitudes toward Congressional business. For instance, the right wing has mounted a vague campaign which I can only call the Otepka campaign. This refers to Otto Otepka, a State Department security specialist who is fighting removal orders which are intertwined with hearings by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. A tremendous volume of mail comes to Congress pleading for Otepka but seldom saying what to do about him. Although this is now an ultraconservative campaign, there may yet be a civil liberties issue involved which will bring in liberal voices as well in the next few months.

II. Civil rights and law enforcement

A relatively new subject for the non-racist part of the organized right wing entered the stage in 1965 by virtue of passage a few months earlier of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. To it was added new concern for law enforcement. Always seeming to avoid being anti-Negro or anti-minority of any kind, the right wing chanted the old refrain, rape of states rights. Then the riots in the Watts area of Los Angeles, together with "free speech" demonstrations at Berkley and peace demonstrations which often overlapped with civil rights movements, gave the radical right something to trumpet about.

Shortly before the Watts riots, the John Birch Society had organized one of its thinly-disguised subsidiaries called TACT -- Truth About Civil Turmoil Committees. The August Bulletin to JBS members included a flyer headed "What's Wrong With Civil Rights?" which appeared in many newspapers as an ad. (One of the answers was that the movement "has been deliberately and almost wholly created by the Communists.")

In addition, JBS kept plugging its campaign to "support your local police" and even set up a fund called PAR -- Police Award Reserve -- to assist the families of policemen killed in the line of duty. In August, the Birchers added a sophisticated note by urging special support for Negroes appointed to Southern police forces. Also, Birch members were discovered on the police forces of several communities.

A significant arrival in the JBS orbit during this time was W. Cleon Skousen, who had appeared on several programs of Dr. Fred Schwarz then seemed to free-lance his talents as public speaker and former positions as FBI agent and Chief of Police of Salt Lake City. Skousen showed up last year in the American Opinion Speakers Bureau. It has not been reported, incidentally, that he is still an editor of Law and Order, a magazine widely circulated among policemen.

At the same time, the Birch Society has been emphasizing its possession of Negroes in its entourage of speakers. Mrs. Julia Brown, an ex-informant for the FBI within the Communist Party, has lectured widely under auspices of the JBS American Opinion Speakers Bureau, although she was rarely identified in the local press as a Bircher. Also, the Birch Society has made some kind of league with George Schuyler, long-time Associate Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier and one of the leading Negroes in the right wing, who has joined the American Opinion Speakers Bureau. Also, Schuyler, was given space by the North American Newspaper Alliance to present what might be called the other side of the Watts protest. His right-wing activities include the Conservative Party of New York and numerous positions in the organizations handled by Marvin Liebman, New York public relations man.

Other recognized right-wingers who jumped on the riot theme were Dan Smoot, who devoted his August 23 broadcast to "the horror now upon us," and Gerald L. K. Smith, who fanned the flames with a huge poster headlined: BLACK REVOLUTION LAUNCHED. Smith had previously sent his veteran assistant, Opal Tanner White, to Selma to cover the famous march. Even Dr. Fred Schwarz, whose Christian Anti-Communism Crusade rejects the radical or extremist label, started one of his newsletters with the headline: REDS, RACE, RIOTS, AND REVOLUTION.

Other aspects of this subject, such as films about the demonstrations and publications in the field, are mentioned elsewhere in this report, as is the spotlight which was focused during 1965 on the outright racist groups. The fact that Governor Brown's special commission, headed by former CIA head John McCone, found no Communistic inspiration in the Watts riots has not diminished the hue and cry.

III. Financial support

Our last study of the finances of the right wing was made in mid-1964 and could cover at the most only the year 1963 because of the lag in figures. (Some groups never report figures, but we try to estimate from other evidence.) At that time, we reported that 30 leading groups spent $14,300,000 in 1963 and estimated that others spent about the same amount, making a total of about $30,000,000 in the most recent year.

By going back to 1955 and applying careful statistical methods we were able to state that right-wing groups had been growing at the rate of 17% a year in financial support. We also explained that this was a broad picture of the right-of-center movements, including some conventionally conservative groups which feed material to or interlock with those best described as right-wing. We also explained that our data included only national organizations, noting that there are hundreds of others.

At this date, we have not been able to add a full year to our previous report, but we do have enough data to be able to report that there certainly has been no over-all

decline and that some of the most significant organizations have increased -- all this in addition to the new political organizations and their large budgets which were mentioned earlier.

Thus, the John Birch Society reports a doubling of its income during 1964 -- from $1.6 million in 1963 to $3.2 million in 1964. Last year's data are not in, but it seems likely that the Society's gross income in 1965 was at least $5 million -- which should end any doubt as to its ranking as the largest single right-wing operation in the country.

Americans for Constitutional Action, which concentrates on electing "constitutional conservatives" to Congress, had a record budget in 1964 -- over $200,000. Reports covering most of last year indicate that ACA's income in 1965 may have exceeded $140,000, compared with about $85,000 in the last previous off-year, 1963.

The figures for 1964 that have become available generally confirm that year's record as one of unusual growth on the right wing. Most spectacular in percentage terms was that of Liberty Lobby, which went from an annual budget well under $100,000 in 1963 to one of $346,500 in 1964. Rev. Billy James Hargis reported a resurgence in 1964 -- to almost $835,000.

Dr. Fred Schwarz's finances also showed an upward turn in 1964 ($612,100 income for the year), though still short of his biggest previous year. And Rev. Carl McIntire reportedly told a Minneapolis audience that his 20th Century Reformation Hour took in "over three million dollars" in 1964.

That this pattern of growth in 1964 extended even to the more extreme groups is shown by Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, which also had a record income -- $315,500.

IV. Communications

If there has been any noticeable change in publications, broadcasts or films it has been on the upward side. Certainly we have noticed no significant slackening by any established group, and some new publications have been added to the tide.

(a) The circulation of regular periodicals is holding up.

Our analysis of the paid circulation figures reported last year to the Post Office by 13 right-wing publications, ranging in conservatism from National Review to The Cross and the Flag, shows that they enjoyed a substantial increase in circulation in 1964 and have held that increase since. Circulation for 1964 of the composite group was about 22% above 1963 and increased another 1% in 1965.

The pattern for individual publications varied. Some increased circulation in 1964, and continued to increase it in 1965 as well. Most spectacular in percentage terms was Liberty Letter, which showed an increase of 73% between 1963 and 1964 and then more than tripled in 1965 (249% increase). More important were Human Events and National Review. The former went up by 8% in 1964 and by another 8% in 1965; the latter went up by 13% in 1964 and by another 18% in 1965. Also, in this general group, American Opinion (John Birch Society) lost only 3% between 1963 and 1964 despite a doubling of its subscription rate and then showed a 39% increase between 1964 and 1965.

In their 1965 rank order, the leading publications studied were: Human Event 123,434, Liberty Letter 92,379, National Review 86,273, Christian Crusade 81,000, Common Sense 52,000, Christian Beacon 50,000, American Opinion 35,400, Dan Smoo Report 33,289, and The (White) Citizen 30,490. These are all average annual paid circulation figures for theyear preceding the Fall of 1965, as reported to the Post Office Department for second-class mailing privileges.

Also, the John Birch Society, whose monthly magazine American Opinion continues to be the slickest organ of the radical right, upgraded one of its old features, ("Correction Please!") into a separate publication called The Review of the News. It purports to monitor more than 100 major periodicals each week and sells for $10 a year, as does American Opinion.

(b) Production of books and pamphlets continues. Among the most significant of the year were:

That Man From Minnesota, an attack on Vice President Humphrey which compares him with Mussolini and Hitler, by Richard P. Jennett, whose work has appeared in the John Birch Society magazine. Jennett apparently created the "Joyce Press" for this occasion; he also runs The Spirit of '76 House, which deals in right-wing literature, tear gas devices and Bibles.

The Liberal Establishment, by M. Stanton Evans, Editor of the Indianapolis News and young conservative leader.

Distortion by Design, "the story of America's liberal press," by Billy James Hargis, head of Christian Crusade.

Crusading Preacher From The West, the story of Billy James Hargis, by Dr. Fernando Penabaz (of Hargis's staff).

The Silencers, "a documented expose of how the liberals are suppressing conservative opposition in the U.S.A.," by Kent and Phoebe Courtney of the Independent American, New Orleans.

The Gravediggers, warning of alleged disarmament plans, by Phillis Schlafly and Admiral Chester Ward (ret.); and Strike From Space, by the same authors. Both were published by "Pere Marquette Press," which is apparently Mrs. Schlafly's firm. She is also Research Director of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation.

The Great Deceit, a "staff study" of the Veritas Foundation, which earlier published Keynes at Harvard.

Invasion Alert, Rising Tides of Aliens in Our Midst, by Mary Barclay Erb, active in super-patriotic and right-wing movements.

Behind the Civil Rights Mask, by Lee Edwards and Terry Catchpole, two prolific writers among the younger right-wingers.

It's Very Simple, "the true story of civil rights," by Alan Stang, published by the John Birch Society's "Western Islands" press. It should also be noted that JBS is

attractively packaging two series of books: one consists of previously-published titles and is called "One Dozen Candles;" the other uses new books and is called the "Americanism Series." JBS also produced a package of long-playing records of Robert Welch speaking which it calls "One Dozen Trumpets."

Slightly to the Right, purporting to be a humorous booklet for answering liberals, by H. L. "Bill" Richardson, a Los Angeles public relations man and John Birch Society member. It is published by Constructive Action, Inc., of Whittier, Calif., which specializes in packaging right-wing periodicals for placing in reception rooms.

Communism, Hypnotism and the Beatles, which alleges that folk music is a Communist plot, by David Noebel, assistant to Billy James Hargis. (Noebel is about to publish a sequel entitled Rhythm, Riots and Revolution.)

(c) The Stormer book is still going strong. During the 1964 campaign, a new paperback -- None Dare Call It Treason -- flooded the country with right-wing attacks on nearly everyone who has had anything to do with U. S. foreign policy. It was written by John A. Stormer and published by his "Liberty Bell Press" at Florissant, Mo., his home. The John Birch Society admitted the distribution during the campaign of about 1,000,000 copies of the estimated total circulation of 7,000,000; and more than 2,000,000 additional distribution has been admitted by Constructive Action, Inc.

About the time schools reopened last Fall an essay contest was started by the Americanism Educational League, an old-time patriotic group which merged with the California Free Enterprise Association of Walter Knott, best known for his Berry Farm but also a big supporter of right-wing causes. Knott is also an incorporator and a trustee of Constructive Action, Inc., which -- as noted above -- specializes in placing right-wing literature in reception rooms. Construction Action, Inc., interlocks in other ways as well with the Americanism Educational League, such as through M. W. Brainard, who is a trustee of the League and President of Constructive Action.

In an appeal for at least $125,000, the League said it planned to put the book in the hands of 500,000 students. The League is directed by Dr. John R. Lechner, who has been listed with the American Opinion Speakers Bureau. A more recent fund-raising appeal was signed by Herbert Philbrick, and the contest has had promotional help from Constructive Action, Inc. Also, the John Birch Society distributed 25 copies to each chapter in recent months.

The massive distribution of the Stormer book during the present school year has started public controversies on several campuses and undoubtedly much unpublicized divisiveness.

(d) New publishing enterprises have been organized. The most important and substantial of these is probably Arlington House, set up recently by The Conservative Book Club, at New Rochelle, N. Y. It will be run by several enterprisers who are active in other right-wing movements and promises 5 to 10 new books a year, backed with the "widest advertising ever given to conservative books." Incidentally, The Conservative Book Club has started advertising in American Opinion, the John Birch Society magazine, and in Human Events, as well as using direct mail.

The Committee For A Conservative Catholic Magazine, headed by top people in Buckley's National Review, circulated an appeal for $100,000 to start publication with headquarters in Washington.

Washington Observer, a new Washington newsletter, is edited by Lee Roberts formerly of Liberty Lobby.

Also, two established publishing ventures have new owners of interest. One is the U. S. Press Association, which specializes in sending "canned" editorials to hundreds of newspapers for free use. It has a new managing editor in Duane Thorin, who recently became available through the American Opinion Speakers Bureau of the John Birch Society. The other is the Calumet Publishing Company, which puts out several newspapers around Chicago. New owners include James A. Linen IV, a Goldwater and YAF booster; James G. Campaigne, Jr., another YAFer and formerly employee of Regnery publishers; and Norris J. Nelson, a trustee of Defenders of American Liberties and contributor to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation.

(e) Several new films were produced in 1965, aimed at supporting charges of Communist activity in civil rights and peace demonstrations.

The John Birch Society hinted in August that one of its reporters covering the Watts riots in Los Angeles was producing a film to be called "Civil Rights, The Red Reconstruction?" A few months later, Constructive Action, Inc., advertised a film on the same subject called "Burn, Baby, Burn!", apparently produced by another of the JBS reporters. Perhaps they will turn out to be the same film.

At the end of the year, the Alabama State Sovereignty Commission made available the long-rumored film about the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery.

And a sequel to the controversial "Operation Abolition" was put on the market as an attack on "the Vietnik rebellion." Called "While Brave Men Die," it was the product chiefly of Donald Bruce, a former Congressman who just resigned as head of the American Conservative Union, and Fulton (Buddy) Lewis III, a leader of YAF who narrated the previous film as an employee of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

(f) Anonymous telephone messages were ordered to be identified. One of the most insidious communication forms of the far-right -- anonymous recordings played when certain telephone numbers are dialed -- started before 1965 but became prominent in that year and received somewhat of a set-back from the telephone company. The program, called "Let Freedom Ring", is operated by Dr. William C. Douglass of Sarasota, Fla., a Birch Society member. After complaints from several civic organizations and inquiry by the FCC and Congress, the telephone company required that all such messages must include the names of their sponsors.

(g) Right-wing broadcasts have continued or increased. There are at least 16 organizations or individuals who regularly broadcast right-wing messages, some on television. Although the exact number of stations fluctuates, we feel sure that there are at least 10,000 right-wing broadcasts on the air each week, averaging more than 15 minutes each.

This does not count regular commercial broadcasts which some might regard as right wing, such as those of Fulton Lewis, Jr. or Paul Harvey. Nor does it count the "largest daily radio program," which is conducted by the American Security Council as a "bi-partisan" discussion of the cold war and foreign policy. This five-minute program usually features Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn) and former Congressman Walter Judd (R-Minn) and is financed by Schick Safety Razor Co., headed by Patrick J. Frawley, Jr., a supporter of several conservative causes.

The number of organizations who are concerned with broadcasts by the radical right intervened last year with the Federal Communications Commission when it was considering a license for a station at Media, Pa., for Faith Theological Seminary, one of Rev. Carl McIntire's enterprises. The FCC granted the license, subject of course to the usual standards of public service programming. In a somewhat related action, the FCC's "Fairness Doctrine," under which anyone attacked on the air has a right to defend himself, has been challenged by the owner of a station at Red Lion, Pa., who is closely affiliated with Rev. McIntire.

Undoubtedly more on this subject will be heard in the near future because the U. S. Senate authorized last year an investigation of the application of the "Fairness Doctrine".

It should also be noted somewhere that a Lubbock, Texas, conservative -- David W. Dye -- has organized a group called Medias Unlimited for the purpose of gaining common stock control of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

V. Organizations

In addition to the activity previously mentioned among political and other organizations, the following activity should be noted for 1965. Newly-formed organizations will be summarized in another section, but here are some highlights about the established groups.

(a) The extremists have had an unusually busy year. The Ku Klux Klan, in all its various forms, came under the scrutiny of Congress when the House Un-American Activities Committee held public hearings to learn more about the extremist group. Most of the Klan leaders took the Fifth and other Amendments during the public hearings, but some interesting information was put in the record by HUAC staff and obtained by reporters outside the chamber. It remains to be seen whether the hearings will get at the root of KKK terrorism more than they give a new lease on life to the Committee or produce the basis for any legislation, but perhaps this year will provide the answer.

Also, the Klan was shown up as an active ingredient in terrorism in several Southern courtrooms, as KKK membership and plots were exposed in the course of several murder trials -- and some convictions.

Similarly, leaders of the National States Rights Party, practically unknown to most people but equally bigoted, were exposed in Southern court rooms as the inspiration, if not the perpetrators, of violence. And a spotlight was turned on the jury system as many prospective and empanelled jurors admitted membership in the Klan, NSRP or the White Citizens' Councils. For instance, a juror in the Selma trial of the

James Reeb Case had openly escorted George Lincoln Rockwell around the town earlier in the year.

Rockwell's American Nazi Party suffered a blow when the Internal Revenue Service padlocked its headquarters for failure to pay taxes. However, it remains to be seen whether IRS moved dramatically or wisely, and a fanatic like Rockwell does not disappear just because of taxes. Before he was padlocked, Rockwell's "storm troops" managed to harrass several peaceful demonstrations, escape jail by paying small fines and generally enjoy doing what they like best -- getting attention.

Somewhere between these bigoted, militant hate groups and organizations which play within the rules of a democratic society without bias are two organizations worth mentioning very briefly. One is The Minutemen, headquartered in Norborne, Missouri, and ready to repel Communist invaders with guerilla tactics. This group fell on hard times when its leader was apprehended for allegedly kidnapping two girls to work for them. Also, two caches of guns were seized.

The other group in this in-between category is the Citizens' Councils, dedicated since 1954 to segregation but not to violence. Usually called the White Citizens' Councils, this well-heeled group is still tapping Southern legislatures for sustenance, putting out attractive publications, and meeting regularly to deplore the evils of integration. During 1965 they continued efforts to organize in the North but have apparently met with little success.

(b) The conventional right-wing groups, varying from ultra-conservative to radical right, generally had a good year.

The 10th Anniversary Dinner of National Review brought out a full-dress array of intellectual, political and organization conservatives which demonstrated in one ball room that the right wing was very much alive in 1965. The affair was arranged by Marvin Liebman, who arranged a similar event a few months earlier for Public Action, Inc., a group which organizes post-card pressure on Congress along the rightist line.

Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) scored a strike last year with its campaign to harass the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. into abandoning plans to sell a $50,000,000 synthetic rubber plant to Rumania. Sale of the plant had been approved by the U. S. government, but YAF boasts of having threatened a boycott against Firestone products which forced cancellation. (Incidentally, the U. S. government stood up a few months later to threats of a boycott on cigarette manufacturers who import tobacco from Yugoslavia.) YAF's annual convention reaffirmed its determination to prevent any business deals behind the iron curtain, called for bombing North Vietnam missile sites and started militant support of U. S. participation in the Vietnam war. The budget of YAF was reported to be $25,000 a month, which would put it near the top ten spenders of the right wing.

YAF also organized The College Conservative Council, aimed at coordinating like-minded groups and headed by Alfred S. Regnery, YAF's College Director and member of the publishing family. Among its stated purposes, such as providing a speakers bureau and publication lists, the Council was assistance to the national STOP-NSA office. This is shorthand for Students to Oppose Participation in the National Student

Association, headquartered at Indiana University to fight the liberal NSA and even get affiliates to drop out of the student organization. It is run by Tom Charles Huston, President of YAF.

The Twentieth Century Reformation Hour of Rev. Carl McIntire has been doing very well, as has his American Council of Christian Churches. The latter took over the American Council of Christian Laymen, run for years by the late Verne P. Kaub, and held an impressive annual convention at Springfield, Mo. McIntire took author John A. Stormer on his annual Korean trip and moved his Shelton College to the relatively new McIntire operation at Cape May, New Jersey. Meanwhile, McIntire has kept up his din against the National Council of Churches on some 600 radio stations a day and his claims of persecution by the U. S. government because of the fairness doctrine, already mentioned.

The John Birch Society, clearly the leader of the radical right "educational" groups, grew again last year. We have already seen its financial growth and ambitious goals for political education, but other measures are equally impressive. For instance, JBS bookstores and libraries began 1965 with some 225 across the country. During the first three months of the year JBS opened 70 new ones, and JBS Founder Welch reported 340 in operation at the end of August. He says he is trying for 1,000. The JBS staff numbers some 250 people across the country, including a new Washington lobbyist, Reed Benson, son of Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture and ardent politician in his own right.

A $25-a-plate testimonial dinner for Welch in Phoenix drew 1,000 people, including best-selling novelist Taylor Caldwell. (Welch told a press conference before the dinner that membership had doubled since President Kennedy was assassinated.) A JBS celebration in New York city drew 1,200 people at $50 a plate; Oklahoma City turned out 500 to hear Welch; JBS Council member Tom Anderson drew 800 in Baltimore; and a full-fledged Birch leader has entered the GOP primary in South Dakota against Karl Mundt, a hero of the right wing.

Founder Welch's declaration in the July-August issue of American Opinion that the U. S. is 60 to 80% under control of the "Communist influence" brought a few protests of note. William Buckley, Jr., Editor of National Review, said ". . . it is impossible to defend the leadership of the John Birch Society if one reads closely even its contemporary utterances." Barry Goldwater expressed a similar opinion. Note, however, the distinction between the leadership and the led. The hard fact is that the John Birch Society is one of the most monolithic -- leader-dominated -- of all groups. As Buckley was firing his dramatic shot, Welch was telling an interviewer for the National Educational Television Network that JBS is "a monolithic body" that "will operate under completely authoritative control at all times." Welch is the John Birch Society. If more evidence is needed, consider the statement of William J. Grede, Wisconsin industrialist and JBS Council member: "Bob Welch sets the policy. When we disagree, we can leave the society."

Billy James Hargis has also been having success with his Christian Crusade. He went to Europe to renew acquaintances with the like-minded people of several countries and announced several domestic projects close to his heart. Although he has stated that he dies a little each time he asks for money, Hargis has raised enough to start major construction on a cathedral in Tulsa and to acquire a big motel and shopping

center in the same area for elderly crusaders. His threatened loss of tax-exempt status is on appeal, a fact which Hargis's faithful are reminded of over and over in case they want to contribute now.

Hargis has also acquired several important names for his speaking-writing operation: Frank Kluckhohn, Duane Thorin and Samuel Blumenfeld, all of whom have impressive credentials outside of the radical right as well.

The Patrick Henry Group, which operates out of a P. O. Box in Richmond, Va., has been in existence several years but started reaching farther and farther out when the Patrick Henry Press mailed out attractively-printed assertions that Negroes are inferior to Whites as a matter of scientific study. The only name admitted in its sponsorship is that of T. Coleman Andrews, best known as a former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, but also a JBS National Council member and a leader in the movement to repeal the income tax. However, we have just learned that the Director of the Patrick Henry Group is John J. Synon, an ex-staff man for several right-wing groups, most recently Director of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, which spent $449,320 lobbying against the Civil Rights bill of 1964.

The Church League of America announced that it "acquired the greatest files in the United States outside of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and will be constructing a security library second to none in the nation, which will supply every top anti-communist leader and group with irrefutable facts and documents." League leader Major Edgar Bundy continued his wide-spread speaking appearances.

Freedom School and Rampart College, at Colorado Springs, had a big year of development. Robert LeFevre, its guiding figure, left his job as Editor of the Hoiles paper there to devote full time to this ultraconservative enterprise and was made "Dean." Also, the unique school started to advertise in the JBS magazine.

The "Hall of Free Enterprise," erected at the New York World's Fair by the American Economic Foundation, claims its dispay is wanted in many parts of the U.S. and will be imitated in many foreign countries. Its main exhibit has been made into a movie by Kentile Floors under the title of "The Case of The Closed Gate" and other corporations are distributing the film. The Foundation continued its National Schools and Institutes program among elementary and secondary schools.

Similarly, the Foundation for Economic Education conducted seminars around the country, as well as at its headquarters in Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

The Institute for American Strategy, which was started in 1959 at Chicago to bring military and industrial leaders together for discussion of the cold war, announced the purchase of a country estate near Washington for a "Freedom Studies Center."

VI. New organizations

As many new groups were born in 1965 as any other recent year, some by the same people and some by new entries in the right wing. Those in politics have already been mentioned, but other significant new organizations follow:

The Philadelphia Society was chronicled in the November 2nd issue of National Review as an addition to the intellectual leadership of the right wing. The founding officers were: President W. Glenn Campbell, head of the Hoover Institute at Stanford University and closely allied with the American Enterprise Institute; First Vice President Frank S. Myer, a veteran editor of National Review; and Second Vice-President Eliseo Vivas, a professor at Northwestern University who has also been active in several right-wing movements. At a meeting in Philadelphia October 8, the new organization heard a report by Milton Friedman, the Chicago University professor who helped brain-trust the Goldwater campaign, about the last meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society, a little-publicized group of intellectuals around the world. Other named leaders of the new movement include professors and writers familiar in right-wing circles.

The American-African Affairs Association sent around a prospectus which relied heavily on names from the National Review masthead, plus the arranging talents of Marvin Liebman. Two of the new officers are connected with Arlington House, already mentioned as an important new publishing house; and, the co-chairmen are William Rusher, publisher of National Review, and Dr. Max Yergan, a Negro journalist who was head of an interlocking group, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters. With the prospectus was mailed a document about the United Nations and apartheid (separation of races) in South Africa which seems put the new group on the white side of the race line. A budget of $161,000 for the first year was to be raised from American foundations, "grants from African sources" and the general public -- tax-exempt. Incidentally, the origin of the prospectus and many of the names involved created confusion as to whether -- or how much -- the new group differed from the existing American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, Inc.

The Asian Speakers Bureau, formed last year by the Free Pacific Organization, features a number of well-known figures. One of the most active is Father Daniel Lyons, on leave from Gonzaga University and Secretary-General of the founding organization. It appears to be essentially a hard-line foreign policy collection with a Catholic orientation.

The Veritas Committee on Pacem in Terris, was organized to prevent "subversion" of Pope John's famous encyclical on peace. The Committee uses a postal box in Godfrey, Illinois, near St. Louis and leaders of the new movement include Robert Morris and Phyllis Schlafly.

The Labor Educational Association, claims to have risen from a Labor for Goldwater Committee, although its credentials are not clear. It started publishing Anvil as an addition to the more radical rightist literature, and its handful of founders includes recognized purveyors of bigotry.

The Conservative Library Association, although organized in 1964, became significantly active last year with publication of a quarterly of comment and book recommendations called The Conservative Reader. The group is apparently run by professional librarians, but its bias is indicated by the appearance in the first issue of an article by Robert Dilley, the Des Moines businessman who ran for Governor of Iowa on the Conservative Party ticket and has been active in the Congress of Freedom, Hargis's Christian Crusade and the John Birch Society.

Citizens for Constructive Action was organized on the West Coast to "sell capitalism." Its founders included Walter Knott, supporter of numerous right-wing causes; and big names such as Ronald Reagan, candidate for Governor of California; William Knowland, former GOP leader in the U.S. Senate; and Joseph Shell, who ran against Richard Nixon for Governor in the 1962 primary as a more conservative candidate.

There were many others, political and otherwise, which space does not permit describing. Besides, we know that there will be plenty more this year -- and the next.

VII. Personalities

In addition to all the people mentioned previously as being significant for some reason last year, there are a few miscellaneous or free-lance types who should be mentioned very briefly.

Glenn Green, formerly of Harding College, the Birch Society and the National Right to Work Committee, returned to Arkansas to work for the Associated Industries of that state.

Bruce Alger, a defeated ultraconservative Congressman (R-Texas) went to work in the Colorado Springs real estate business of Al Hill, son-in-law of H. L. Hunt, and became a Trustee of Americans for Constitutional Action.

N. B. Hunt, a son of the same right-wing promoter, showed up as part-owner of American Opinion's publishing firm.

Robert Morris, writer and speaker in the right wing and ex-President of Dallas University, became head of a new university at Plano, Texas.

James G. Clark, Sheriff of Selma, Alabama, became available through the JBS American Opinion Speakers Bureau and travelled widely.

J. Bracken Lee, one of the oldest joiners of the right-wing groups, helped to defeat urban renewal in Salt Lake City, of which he is Mayor.

Richard Viguerie, first staff director of YAF, is now on the business side of Human Events.

James P. Dees, Bishop of the Anglican Orthodox Church, organized units in several states. (He left the Episcopal Church in 1963 and embarked on a radical right, segregationist course.)

Major Arch Roberts won his fight with the Army for reinstatement after being disciplined for an unauthorized speech to the DAR. Even though he is back on active duty, his long-playing record attacking the United Nations is still being distributed.

Obituaries of 1965 included: Verne Kaub, old-time critic of church and school organizations; Benjamin Gitlow, ex-leader of the Communist Party, U.S.A., who became popular on the right-wing circuit; Donaldson Brown, former General Motors executive and patron of several very conservative causes; James L. Wick, Publisher of Human Events; George Deatherage, once head of the bigoted Knights of the White

Camelia; and Leo F. Reardon, an early adviser to Father Coughlin and recently Vice President of Manion Forum. As a footnote to history, Reardon was also the man who talked Barry Goldwater into writing his first book and published it for him.

VIII. Countering the right wing

As 1965 started, we lost the only real national movement to counter the right wing when the National Council for Civic Responsibility disbanded. However, much effective work was done by individuals and established organizations.

Two big counter blows came from both sides of the political fence in California. T most single dramatic incident must have been the suit for criminal libel against a little band of radicals and police officers who conspired to distribute a false story about Sena tor Thomas Kuchel, the GOP whip. One of the key men in this conspiracy was Frank Capell, an ardent right-wing pamphleteer and publisher of a newsletter, Herald of Free dom. Although the Senator won the case by apologies and was applauded nationally for his courage in bringing it, Capell is still turning out right-wing material.

The Democrats of California have also been busy countering the right wing. Attorney General Thomas C. Lynch published a hard-hitting investigatory report about paramilitary operations such as Minutemen, National States Rights Party, California Rangers, et al; and both Governor Edmund Brown and Comptroller Alan Cranston have kept striking publicly at the radical right.

Legal action outside of California produced mixed results. On the plus side, Prof. Arnold Rose of Minnesota University was awarded a jury verdict in a libel suit against Christian Research, Inc., and its Executive Director, Gerda Koch. On the other hand, former General Walker continues to win most maneuvers in his king-sized libel suits against the Associated Press and a number of newspapers.

Organizational activity included publication by the Congress of Parents and Teache of a pamphlet on extremism and the sounding of a national alarm about infiltration of PTAs. Also, the Jewish War Veterans published a booklet about the John Birch Societ "A Conspiracy of the Fearful."

The Intellectual Freedom Committee of the American Library Association conduct a conference in Washington which dealt with many of the problems created by right-win critics and others. (See the June ALA Bulletin for proceedings, including a paper by this author.)

The Anti-Defamation League produced a film, "Star Spangled Extremists;" and AD General Counsel Arnold Forster wrote an article laying out the threat of Birch infiltration of police departments. (The Progressive, October 1965) Similarly, the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools produced several films, including a panel discussion titled "When Extremists Attack the Schools."

This summary has undoubtedly missed many other constructive efforts at all level in countering the right wing, just as it has omitted many developments in the right wing itself. This is particularly true of the community or local level, a regrettable omissi to those of us who realize that this is the real firing line, but the volume of material m lead to the conclusion that the American right wing is still strong, if not stronger.

Originally a Committee Print of the Dies Committee (House Special Committee on Un-American Activities), this document is currently being offered in a reprint by California Contemporary Classics, Los Angeles, at $29.50 a set. The reproduction is by photo-offset and thus largely retains the appearance of an official government document. It is advertised as "unavailable for 19 years," and can be purchased from the Santa Barbara Freedom Press, as well as presumably from the publishers and other sources. (Adv. in Freedom Press 11/27/63)

The original has been described by political scientist Robert K. Carr as follows: (The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945-1950, Cornell Univ. Press, 1952, pp. 338-9):

> "Appendix Nine" was published in seven volumes numbering just under 2,000 pages. It was prepared in the closing days of 1944 by the so-called Costello subcommittee of the Dies Committee, presumably to preserve the files of the latter committee, which were thought to be threatened with destruction /they weren't, but were turned over to the permanent committee in 1945/. Seven thousand sets were published at a cost of $20,000, and were delivered to the committee. When the publication came to the attention of the full committee early in 1945, it was ordered restricted and the existing copies destroyed. However, a number of sets had already been sold . . . . Others had been distributed by the committee /to various government agencies/ . . . .

Prepared primarily by Committee staff members Benjamin Mandel and J. B. Mathews (see ibid. and John Cogley, Report on Blacklisting, Fund for the Republic, 1956, Vol. I, p. 121), the Appendix consists of 245 sections describing alleged Communist front organizations or groups of organizations, including miscellaneous documents taken from the Dies Committee files, plus an index of some 22,000 names. Mr. Mandel, who told Prof. Carr in the early 1950's that the exhibits in the Appendix represent "a fair cross-section of our files today," also said that he regretted that the volumes did not carry an explanatory note warning users that the presence of a name in the index did not necessarily mean that the person was a subversive. (Carr, op. cit. The reprint edition currently being sold does include, inside the front cover, such a disclaimer, and recommends that "original references" be checked -- an obviously impossible task for virtually all users.)

Prof. Carr goes on to say that "the continuing use of these volumes by intelligenc officers or by private individuals can only lead to dangerous and irresponsible results. It is quite clear that attacks by private persons and organizations upon specific individuals are the result of access which these organizations have had to 'Appendix Nine.' " (Ibid.) The document served, for example, as "one of the two main sources" for Red Channels, compiled and published in 1950 by American Business Consultants, publishers of Counterattack. (Merle Miller, The Judges and the Judged, Doubleday, 1952, p. 82) Several instances of outright inaccuracie in the listings are cited in John Cogley's Report on Blacklisting. (Op. cit., Vol. I pp. 21 and 59-61)

The reprint combines the original 7 volumes into 3 and runs to 2,166 pages. It ha been recommended by such right-wing figures as Maj. Jordan and Karl Prussion (see Sec 2 - IND).

(GROUP RESEARCH, INC.)

BUNDY, EDGAR C., Major, USAF Res., Wheaton, Illinois

Executive Director, Church League of America (Sec 1 - ORG) since 1956.

Author: Collectivism in the Churches (Sec 3 - PUB)

Very active lecturer--the 1961 annual report of the Church League lists more than 120 "presentations" around the country by "League personnel" and most of these are probably Bundy appearances. Currently, for example, he is on a tour of the Pacific Northwest with "as high as 20 two-day seminars" scheduled in a two month period. (Mimeographed letter of 12/1/62)

Born in 1915 in Connecticut, but raised in Florida (1918-1934); attended Oglethorpe University in Atlanta and Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois. Served in Air Force, 1941-48, including assignment to intelligence staff of Gen. Chennault's 14th Air Force in China. During military service he was also ordained (March, 1942) as a Baptist minister in the Southern Baptist Convention, but he is not known to have held a pastorate. Terminating his active duty with the Air Force as a Captain, he continues to hold a commission in the Air Force Reserve, currently with rank of Major. Following resignation from Air Force, was City Editor, Wheaton Daily Journal. (Daily Journal 9/21/62 and undated Church League pamphlet of about 1959-60)

June, 1949--appeared before Senate Appropriations Committee to testify on foreign aid bill, advising that all "further appropriations of money for Europe be it for economic aid or for rearmament under the North Atlantic Defense Pact" be ended and primary attention given instead to China. Testified that if China fell, then Japan, the Philippines, India, Burma, the Malay States and the Dutch East Indies would all fall and that South Korea would be invaded by North Korea. (Hearings, 6/22/49) This testimony is now cited by Bundy and the Church League as a "prediction" of the Korean War more than a year in advance.

1953--increasingly active on the lecture circuit, Bundy is referred to by Ralph Lord Roy as a "public-relations man" for the American Council of Churches of Rev. Carl McIntire (Sec 2 - IND). (Roy, Apostles of Discord, Beacon Press, 1953, p. 240) During the same period he is reported to have "worked closely with Congressmen Velde and Jackson on the various excursions made by the House Un-American Activities Committee into alleged church connections with communism." (Christian Century 11/2/55)

Active in the American Legion, Bundy was a dominant figure in the Illinois Department, at least in 1954-55. He sponsored the Legion's condemnation of the Girl Scout Handbook as "un-American" in 1954. At the 1955 convention he led the forces securing adoption of resolutions condemning UNESCO, calling for an investigation of the American Civil Liberties Union and foundations such as the Ford Foundation, and supporting the Bricker Amendment. Though his attempt to secure Legion approval for U.S. withdrawal from the

U.N. failed, a Chicago Tribune reporter called that year's session "a victory for the Illinois delegation and particularly for Edgar C. Bundy." Bundy's name came up again in 1961 relative to a resolution before the Legion attacking the Foreign Policy Association. (Christian Century 11/2/55 Des Moines Register 3/28/60 and Denver Post 9/13/61)

During years 1954-59 Bundy was also active as President of the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club which proudly stated that it was "engaged in political action on the Right." (undated leaflet) During the 1954 election campaign, Bundy and the Club were charged by the Chicago Sun-Times with distributing a "smear" pamphlet against Sen. Paul Douglas obtained from Harry A. Jung, "notorious Chicago hate-monger." Bundy denied any dealings with Jung or his materials. (See Chicago Sun-Times 10/19/54 and "Sowing Dissension in the Churches," mimeographed, Department of Christian Social Relations, National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church)

Among other things, the Club sponsored "seminars" in Chicago each February with the speakers chosen from the ranks of the Republican Party right. In the years 1955-59 these included Senators Jenner, Malone and McCarthy and Gov. J. Bracken Lee (each at least twice), as well as Bryton Barron (author of Inside the State Department), Frank Bow (Congressman from Ohio), the late Senator Styles Bridges (R-N.H.), Kit Clardy (late Congressman from Michigan), and Herman Welker (late Senator from Idaho). An announced aim of the Club was "to wrest control of the Republican Party from the New Dealers and internationalists." (Denver Post 3/28/55; New York Times 2/12/56, 2/10/57 and 10/24/59; and St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2/10/57) Since about 1959, the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club seems to have disappeared from the scene.

When the furor arose in early 1960 over the Air Force Training Manual which charged "overwhelming evidence" of Communist infiltration of the churches, Bundy--though not one of the sources cited in the Manual--leaped to its defense, offering to "testify under oath that 'the National Council of Churches is one of the greatest enemies in regard to national security'" and calling its leaders "the chief offenders when it comes to promoting communism in the churches." (Rocky Mountain News 2/19/60 and New York Times 2/19/60 and 3/21/60)

During the summer of 1960, Bundy visited Germany and was invited by Gen. Edwin Walker, then commanding the 24th Infantry Division, to be his house guest and to address members of the Division. Walker had included Bundy's book, Collectivism in the Churches, on the recommended reading list for the "Ladies Study Groups" organized among the wives of the Division as a part of Walker's controversial "Pro-Blue" program. Bundy's speech, which was reported to include attacks on the "pink" tinge of Mrs. Roosevelt, Dean Acheson and former President Truman, was one of the aspects of the Walker troop information program which brought the General a reprimand from the Defense Department. (See transcript of investigation by

Acting Inspector General F. J. Brown, "The General Walker Case," pp. 327-9, 534 and 669 and Exhibit CX)

Bundy was a featured speaker at the 1962 national meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution, giving what one reporter termed "a long and passionate denouncement of certain writers, educators and clergymen" with his chief targets being "the Methodists and the National Council of Churches." He was quoted as calling "Academic Freedom. . . the ultimate of insanity." (Washington Star 4/20/62) A pamphlet of excerpts from Bundy's Collectivism in the Churches is among the materials distributed by the DAR's National Defense Committee. (1962 price list)

Philosophy: Bundy's primary theme has long been alleged communist infiltration of the churches, and particularly those affiliated with the National Council of Churches. Note, for example, the following titles of tape-recorded Bundy speeches available from the Church League:

"The Communists Are After Your Churches"
"Moscow's Plan For A Third Rome"
"The National Council of Churches - Menace or Promise?"
"The Perils of the Social Gospel"
"The Perversion of the Bible" (on the Revised Standard Version)

As the following quotes illustrate, Bundy equates what he calls "modernism" in theology with "communism":

—". . . That fact was and is that COMMUNISM and THEOLOGICAL MODERNISM are as ONE!" ("Christ or Communism" in News and Views, December, 1962)

—"Communism and Modernism walk hand in hand. They are bedfellows. They compliment one another. They come to each other's rescue when they get in trouble. They have a mutual defense. They maintain a mutual offensive against their common enemy--Bible-believing Christians who want no part of their false doctrines." (Ibid.)

—"The modernists become their own authority and attempt to usurp the authority of God, as Satan, the first communist, did in the beginning." ("Christianity or Communism?", undated Church League pamphlet)

—"Having done away with the infallible Word of God and the authority contained therein, they /the 'modernists'/ have substituted the teachings of Marx and Gandhi for the teachings of Holy Writ." (Ibid.)

Bundy has also attacked disarmament as "a dangerous delusion" unless it extends to "psycho-political warfare" in which he includes use of "literature and printed matter" and "all mass communications media" to "attack"

non-Communist countries and to teach or urge "the duty or necessity of overthrowing non-Communist forms of government." (The Freedom Press 4/18/62)

Churches and clergymen are not the only target of Bundy charges--on at least one occasion he has characterized USIA Director Edward R. Murrow as a "'smear artist against anti-communist forces.'" (See Dallas Times-Herald 4/14/61)

CITIZEN, THE
315-25 Plaza Bldg., Jackson, Miss.

Monthly magazine -- the "official journal of the Citizens' Councils of America," the federation of state segregationist units (popularly called " white citizens councils") in the 11 southern states and elsewhere.

Origin and History

The predecessor of The Citizen was a 4-page newspaper published monthly by the statewide Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi. Called The Citizens'Council, it began publication with the October, 1955 issue. In April, 1956 the various Citizens' Councils and other segregationist organizations in the southern states joined in a federated Citizens' Councils of America, and the following November, the paper of the statewide Mississippi organization became the official publication of the national federation.

The newspaper format and the name continued unchanged until mid-1961. Then, beginning with the September, 1961 issue, both were changed. A little magazine format of 5 1/2" X 8 1/2" and high-quality paper were adopted, and the name was shortened to The Citizen. It has continued to appear monthly (with a combined July-August issue) and is usually 24 pages in length.

Subscription rates have also changed over the years. The original 4-page paper carried a subscription rate of $2 a year, though it was available in bulk at lower rates. Then, in early 1957, group subscriptions were offered at $1 a year (for 50 or more) in an effort to get local units to subscribe for all members. With the shift to the magazine format, the subscription rate was increased to $3 a year, with a group rate of $2 each (for 25 or more). This rate, and the 35¢ per copy price, have been maintained since.

Prior to 1960, monthly publications with second-class mailing privileges were not required to publish circulation figures but there are some figures available. Thus, in its November, 1956 issue, The Citizens' Council claimed an "average national circulation of 40,000." In a 1957 book, The Deep South Says "Never!", writer John Bartlow Martin used a figure of 60,000; and Hodding Carter III reports that Judge Tom Brady claimed 65,000 in 1958 (The South Strikes Back, p. 203). The figures reported by the publication itself, as its average paid circulation for the preceding 12-month period, have been as follows:

September, 1960 -	50,000
October, 1961 -	45,000
October, 1962 -	50,000
October, 1963 -	25,144
October, 1964 -	33,616

Editorial Personnel

Editor throughout the publication's history has been William J. Simmons (Sec 2 - IND), long a top leader in the Mississippi council movement. With the shift to a magazine format in late 1961, two other names were added to The Citizen's masthead:

Managing Editor: Richard D. Morphew -- Morphew, who was "raised in Birmingham and Kansas City, and is a graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism," had returned to the South to work for a Jackson, Miss. television station. He was hired as Director of Public Relations for the Citizens' Councils of America and also works as executive producer of the organization's radio-television series, Citizens' Council Forum. Morphew is reported to have "advanced the theory that the NAACP's only motivation in the current civil-rights controversy is simply greed for money . . . . 'They don't believe in integrating the schools any more than we do. They raise all this furor just to raise money for their treasury.' " (James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, pp. 83-84)

Business Manager: Louis W. Hollis -- Born in Chattanooga, Hollis spent 21 years with the S. H. Kress Co., including management of an outlet in Harlem. He returned to Jackson (where he had also managed a Kress outlet) in 1946 to go into business for himself. Since 1957 he has been a full-time staff member of the Citizens' Councils of America, with the title of Executive Director of CCA and Secretary of the Citizens' Council Forum, as well as Business Manager of The Citizen. (Cook, op. cit., pp. 77-80) When the Councils held an elaborate tribute to Carleton Putnam, author of the pro-segregation Race and Reason, in Jackson in 1961, it was Hollis who served as secretary for the affair. (See The Citizen, November, 1961) Like his boss, William Simmons, Hollis played an active role in the 1963 campaign to organize "unpledged electors" in the Southern states, and thus seek a possible "balance of power" role in the electoral college for the 1964 presidential race. (See N. Y. Times 10/11/63) Similarly, Hollis attended the 1964 convention of the National Conservative Council, a right-wing group which had threatened third-party activity if Goldwater did not get the GOP nomination. (See ibid., 7/26/64) Hollis is also an outspoken member of the John Birch Society and shares with Simmons a general right-wing viewpoint: "Conservatism is on the march now for the first time in thirty years -- and we are part of the conservative movement." (Quoted in Cook, op. cit., p. 81) He expressed the same views to a CCA Leadership Conference in early 1964: "Erosion of our freedoms and of our governmental system, which we are experiencing today, was begun more than 30 years ago. A systematic campaign was carried forward by mass organizations of the left wing. We may as well expect to remain in a state of siege until victory is attained." (The Citizen, March, 1964)

One other CCA staff member whose work frequently appears in The Citizen is Medford Evans, an Endorser of the John Birch Society (1962 brochure) and a Contributing Editor to its magazine American Opinion (issue of March, 1965). Evans has long been a leading figure on the American right-wing (see Sec 2 - IND), and is now listed as a "staff consultant" by the Citizens' Councils of America. Articles by him have appeared in The Citizen both before and since his employment on the staff. (See issues of December, 1961, September, 1962, and January and December, 1964)

While The Citizen leans heavily on reprint material and articles by CCA staff, it does include pieces evidently written for it by non-staff personnel. Among

those whose by-line has appeared are the following.

Vincent Barba -- A "production manager for a Memphis printing firm," and a "free-lance writer," Barba does occasional satirical pieces, sometimes with racist overtones, for The Citizen. (See issues of May, 1963, July-August, 1964, and January, 1965)

William Flax -- A young Cincinnati, Ohio attorney, Flax wrote an "Exclusive Analysis" titled "Only the Communists Stand to Gain from Current Racial Agitation!" for The Citizen (issue of July-August, 1963). Earlier that same year, Flax an organizer for the John Birch Society, had assisted in arrangements for the Cincinnati appearance of Billy James Hargis and Gen. Edwin Walker on their "Operation: Midnight Ride." (Christian Crusade, May, 1963) Early the following year, Flax was an organizer of the Cincinnati Open Forum, set up to sponsor a speech by Mississippi's former governor, Ross Barnett (Cincinnati Post-Times-Star 3/9/64); and some weeks later was listed as an attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of White People in a flyer plugging the Committee of One Million Caucasians to March on Congress. (May, 1964 hand-out) The Committee of One Million Caucasians was headed by James Venable and Wally Butterworth, reported by the Anti-Defamation League as active in the anti-Semitic Christian Voters and Buyers League. (Glendale, Calif. News-Press 4/23/64; See also American Jewish Committee's For Your Information, January, 1963, relative to Venable and Butterworth.) Flax is also listed as an available speaker through the Birch Society's American Opinion Speakers Bureau. (American Opinion, February, 1964)

Rev. T. Robert Ingram -- Rector of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church in Houston, Texas, and editor of Essays in Segregation, Ingram has a host of right-wing ties. Most recently his appointment as a Trustee of Americans for Constitutional Action has been announced. (Press release of 1/29/65) Ingram has both spoken and written for the citizens' council movement. (See The Citizen, December, 1961, June, 1962 and November, 1963)

Charles McWilliams -- A member of the editorial staff of the Mobile, Ala. Press-Register, McWilliams wrote for The Citizen a detailed, critical analysis of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (issues of April and May, 1964).

Arthur Muth -- A native of Kentucky, now on the staff of the Cincinnati Enquirer, Muth has done at least two articles for The Citizen (issues of February and June, 1963), proclaiming that: "This is a fight for the American way of life as we have always known it. This is a fight to maintain racial integrity for and on behalf of all Americans!"

William K. Shearer -- Shearer, who publishes his own monthly, The California Statesman, is described as "a frequent contributor" by The Citizen. He worked as a "campaign consultant" in the successful drive to repeal California's fair housing law, the Rumford Act. (N. Y. Times 5/10/64) He has also described himself as a "part-time" assistant to Republican Assemblyman E. Richard Barnes (See Sec 2 - IND). (Ibid.) Shearer's views furnish still another example of combining segregationism with more general right-wing views. In an article urging Republicans to forget the Negro vote and go after the Southern white vote, he said: "The truth is that the Republican Party cannot get the negro vote unless it abandons all its principles of fiscal responsibility, and its belief in individual initiative! . . . Republicans can repudiate Southern segregationists until the moon turns to green cheese and they will never get the negro vote until they place a bigger premium on laziness and illegitimacy than the Democrats have placed on these vices." (The Citizen, February, 1963)

Editorial Advisory Board

Since the June, 1957 issue (of its predecessor), The Citizen has listed an Editorial Advisory Board," comprised of key leaders in their respective state organizations." It currently numbers twelve and the list is reproduced at the top of the next page from the February, 1965 issue.

Four of the five (Richard Burrow of Tenn., B. E. Masters of Texas, Robert Patterson of Mississippi, and R. Carter Pittman of Georgia) have been listed since 1957. Rev. Dees of North Carolina and James Orgain of Virginia have been listed since 1959; Mrs. Bruington of Florida and Mr. Poynter of Arkansas since 1960; Roy Harris since 1961; Donald Poteat of South Carolina since 1962; and Tom Blackmon of Alabama and Tom Elkins of Louisiana first appeared in January, 1965.

Several of the twelve require further comment.

Rev. James P. Dees, who is the founder and head of the North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, is active in other right-wing groups. A 1964 mimeographed hand-out listed him as a member of the Board of Policy of Liberty Lobby and a member of the board of the National Conservative Council, and indicated that he has been a director of the Federation for Constitutional Government and of the Independence Foundation /of the late Sherwood Ide, of Portland, Indiana/. Ordained in the Episcopal Church, he broke with it in 1963 -- "on account of its orientation toward the social gospel and pro-communist program" -- and now heads, as Bishop Primus, his own sect, The Anglican Orthodox Church. (See Christian Beacon 4/16/64) Rev. Dees has been described by Gerald L. K. Smith as "our good friend and loyal supporter." (The Cross and the Flag, February, 1962, in a note accompanying the reprint of a Dees speech. Rev. Dees has personally mailed out reprints from this issue, including the quoted characterization. Letter of May 12, 1964) Dees told a reporter: "I think Gerald L. K. Smith is the greatest patriot in this country today. . . . I know him personally, and I have a deep respect for him." (Quoted in Cook, op. cit., p. 226)

Roy V. Harris, in addition to being President of the Citizens' Councils of America, publishes his own strident, segregationist paper, Augusta Courier, which reported an average paid circulation of 6,000 for the year prior to October, 1964. (Issue of 10/12/64) Headlines in a recent issue included: "Negroes, White Nit-Wits and Hyprocrites Hate the South" and "Martin Luther King's Lawlessness and Racketeering Sacred with Newspapers, Radio and Television Medium in the

MEMBERS OF EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

ALABAMA — Tom L. Blackmon
President, Citizens' Councils of Alabama, 715 Holcombe Avenue, Mobile

ARKANSAS — L. D. Poynter
President, Citizens' Councils of Arkansas, Pine Bluff

FLORIDA — Mrs. J. C. Bevington
Secretary, Citizens' Councils of Florida, 520 North 8th Avenue, Pensacola

GEORGIA — R. Carter Pittman
Vice-President, States' Rights Council of Georgia, Dalton

LOUISIANA — Tom Elkins
President, Citizens' Councils of Louisiana, 228 Oil & Gas Building, Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI — Robert B. Patterson
Executive Secretary, Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, 118 Howard Street, Greenwood

NORTH CAROLINA — Rev. James P. Dees
President, North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, 421 Walnut Street, Statesville

SOUTH CAROLINA — Donald W. Poteat
Field Secretary, Citizens' Councils of South Carolina, 401 Peoples Building, Charleston

TENNESSEE — Richard Burrow, Jr.
Director, Citizens' Councils of Tennessee, P.O. Box 348, Milan

TEXAS — Dr. B. E. Masters
President, Citizens' Councils of Texas, P. O. Box 1816, Kilgore

VIRGINIA — James R. Obrain
Director, Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, P. O. Box 1397, Richmond

NATIONAL — Roy V. Harris
President, Citizens' Councils of America, Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

U. S." (3/22/65) Long a potent figure in Georgia politics, Harris has said he is "an ultra-Liberal on some things," citing as examples, foreign aid and Federal aid to education, and claiming that he "went along with FDR's domestic and social legislation." (Quoted in James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, p. 109. Cook devotes a chapter to Harris -- pp. 101-114. Somewhat in conflict with Harris's claimed views would be his membership on the Advisory Committee of the Federation for Constitutional Government, which was conservative on more than the segregation issue.)

Robert B. Patterson was one of the founders of the first Citizens' Council and has had a leadership role in the movement throughout. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has noted that prior to the launching of the Citizens' Council movement, Patterson was listed as a staff writer by Harry W. Pyle's "anti-Semitic" Political Reporter and that soon after the founding of the Councils, he sent out a recommended reading list which was studded with anti-Semitic publications. Patterson's reply is that "I am not anti-Semitic, but I am against any man or group . . . who aids and abets the NAACP which is trying to destroy our way of life." (See ADL, Facts, January, 1956; Cook, op cit., profiles Patterson at pp. 48-65.)

R. Carter Pittman is another whose right-wing connections are numerous and include the John Birch Society. (See Sec 2 - IND) 1962 Endorser JBS.

Appearing on the Editorial Advisory Board of The Citizen in earlier years have been the following segregationist leaders.

Citizens' Councils of Alabama --

Sam M. Engelhardt, Jr. (listed as Executive Secretary, June, 1957 - December, 1958)

W. H. Garner, Sr. (listed as President, February - June, 1964)

Walter C. Givhan (listed as Chairman, January, 1959 - late 1962 or early 1963). Givhan was also listed by Federation for Constitutional Government on its Executive Committee (from beginning until at least early 1963).

C. E. Hornsby, Jr. (listed as Chairman, late 1962 or early 1963 - January, 1964)

Citizens' Councils of Arkansas --

Robert E. Brown (listed as Director, June, 1957 - August, 1960)

Citizens' Councils of Florida --

Dr. George A. Downs (listed as Executive Secretary, September, 1957 - October, 1959). Downs was also editor of a periodical, Gospel Times. (N. Y. Times 2/4/57)

Citizens' Councils of Louisiana --

Charles R. Barnett (listed as President, May, 1960 -- December, 1964)

John S. Garrett (listed as President, April, 1959 - April, 1960). Garrett was listed by the Federation for Constitutional Government on its Advisory Committee. (N.Y. Times 12/30/55)

W. M. Rainach (listed as President, June, 1957 -- March, 1959). Rainach was the first national president of the Citizens' Councils of America, serving until mid-1958. (Hodding Carter III, The South Strikes Back, p. 96)

Citizens' Councils of South Carolina --

B. A. Graham (listed as Chairman, May, 1958 - February, 1959)

T. D. Keels (listed as Chairman, June, 1957 - April, 1958)

Rev. L. B. McCord (listed as Executive Secretary, March, 1961 - late 1962 or early 1963)

Farley Smith (listed as Executive Secretary, March, 1959 - February, 1961)

Citizens' Councils of Virginia --

Rev. Henry J. Davis (listed as member, Executive Committee, July, 1959 - August, 1962; during this period two Virginia affiliates were represented on the Advisory Board)

Content and Sources

As has been indicated, The Citizen makes substantial use of reprint material -- not only editorials and columns from Southern papers, but items from more national, and more general right-wing sources. (Except where noted, there is no indication as to whether specific permission to reprint has been granted.)

Probably the most frequent sources of "Guest Editorials" would be James Jackson Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News-Leader, and Jesse Helms, of a Raleigh, N. C., television station. Kilpatrick, in addition to anti-civil rights efforts as Vice-chairman of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government and of the now-defunct Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, is a frequent contributor to National Review and, most recently, a member of the Advisory Assembly of the American Conservative Union. Helms, who is on the Advisory Board of the North Carolina affiliate of Americans for Constitutional Action (Citizens for the Preservation of Constitutional Government), has had his editorials reprinted by Human Events and the Southern States Industrial Council. (Most of these organizations appear in Sec 1 - ORG.)

Other sources of material worth noting include: Hurst B. Amyx (June, 1964 issue reprinted broadcast on "Leftists" in the civil rights movement); columnist Holmes Alexander (January and April, 1962 issues); Edward Hunter (November, 1964 issue reprinted "by permission" his post-election analysis from Tactics); Myers G. Lowman (April, 1963 issue has "Exclusive Analysis" of the American Association of University Professors); National Review (June, 1962 issue reprints "by Permission" article by Robert Lewis Taylor); National Economic Council (the "Guest Editorial" in the same issue is from the Economic Council Letter); Revilo Oliver (May, 1963 issue reprints his article on the Black Muslims from American Opinion); and John B. Trevor, Jr. (January, 1965 issue carries article by him on South Africa).

Articles in The Citizen are usually, but not invariably related to the issue of civil rights. The broader right-wing viewpoint is reflected in Sen. Thurmond's attack on the Fulbright Memorandum in the October, 1961 issue and in most of the January, 1962 issue, which features a speech by former Gen. Edwin Walker ("There Is No Substitute for Victory") and an editorial titled "How to Win the Cold War." Other items only remotely connected with the issues of segregation and civil rights would include the articles by Edward Hunter and Myers Lowman previously mentioned, and: Joseph Mitchell on "Newburgh's Secession from the Welfare State" (December, 1961 -- Mitchell has since become a member of the Citizens' Council's field staff), William Shearer's "call for conservatives to unite" in the February, 1963 issue, and Edith Kermit Roosevelt's column, "Who's Behind the Drive to Smear Anti-Communists?" (issue of October, 1963). This more general right-wing bias is evident in some of the earliest issues. Thus, in February, 1956 The Citizens' Council was plugging such books as E. Merrill Root's Collectivism on the Campus and V. Orval Watts' The United Nations: Planned Tyranny, and in October of 1956 it front-paged an article by Alfred Haake titled "Welfare State Crushes Constitutional Liberty."

Viewpoint

The viewpoint of The Citizen is indicated in the titles of its articles. Since the shift to a magazine format, these have included, for example: "Agitators and Appeasers Must Share the Blame for Racial Violence!" (May, 1962); "Forced Integration Is Communism in Action!" (by Medford Evans in September, 1962); "There Is No Such Thing as 'Equality'!" (reprint of a Paul Harvey broadcast, November, 1963); "Jobs and Seniority Rights Are Threatened by Vicious FEPC Proposal" (May, 1964); "African Nations Are 'Emerging' Into Idiocy!" (Robert Ruark, October, 1964); "Leading Scientists Refute Equalitarian Propaganda!" (December, 1964); and " 'Benefits' of Integrated Schools Are a Myth!" (Henry E. Garrett, January, 1965).

Still further insights are provided in the following selected quotations from the monthly "Editorial Opinion" page.

-- "The campaign to integrate the South centers around the Negro bloc vote . . . . All who are concerned about their country should note that the creation of a massive Negro bloc vote is likewise a primary objective of the Communist Party. . . ." (February, 1962)

-- ". . . The faceless black hordes are worked into a frenzy by King and his skilled manipulators; gullible Negroes are incited to action against Southern whites; all in the name of Ghandian 'non-violence.' This merely confirms the fact that violence is the desired result . . . ." (July-August, 1962)

-- /On the 1962 troubles at "Ole Miss"/ "Surely the cruelest and most unforgiveable act connected with the invasion was the use of negro troops. Those who ordered them to Oxford knew the feelings of Mississippians; thus, this action can only be construed as an extreme provocation, an overt challenge to riot, and a deliberate attempt to humiliate a proud people." (September, 1962)

-- "Is the Negro's present environment the result of his genetic limitations or are his limitations the

result of his environment? The correct answer is a prerequisite to every other racial solution, at home or abroad." (October, 1963)

-- "Perceptive observers of the Washington scene are finally coming to recognize a truism long known to every Southerner wise in the ways of the Negro -- that the Negro is his own worst enemy." (April, 1964)

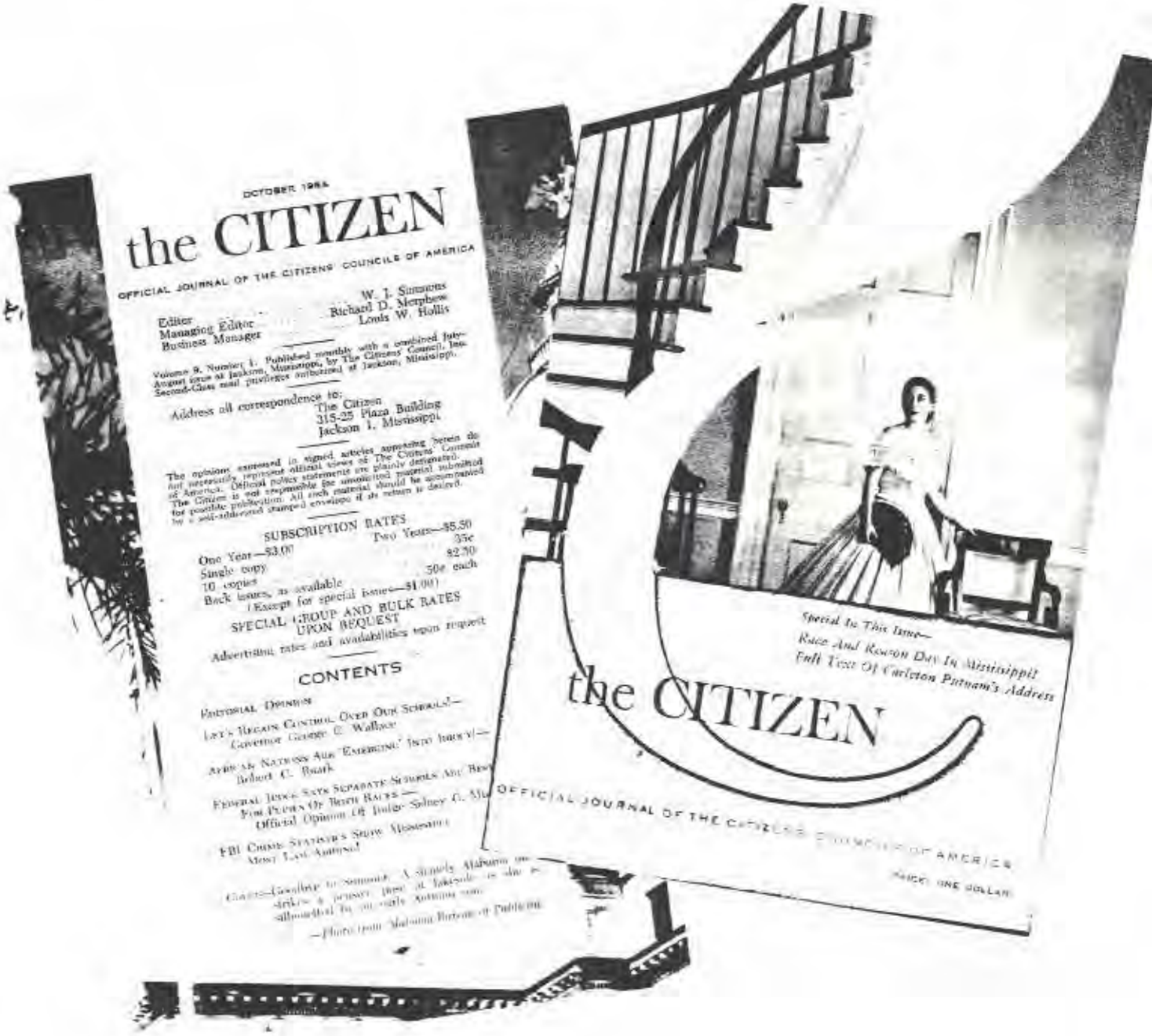
-- "A few of the heretofore excellent public school systems of the Southern states have been slightly infected by a potentially-lethal virus in the form of court-ordered race mixing. But all Southern school systems received their death sentences . . . /in the/ misnamed 'Civil Rights Act of 1964' . . . ." (September, 1964)

-- ". . . /The/ school systems as developed in America during the past few decades can no longer be considered public -- they have become government school systems! And the breakdown of established values in such government schools is all too plain. Until this misuse of Federal power can be reversed, until the conservative white majority can recapture national political power, the obvious alternative . . . is to provide private schools, which will be responsive to the wishes of the patrons. . . ." (Ibid., The entire issue is devoted to instructions on "how to start a private school.")

-- /On the outcome of the 1964 election/ "What does the 1964 election prove? It proves that President Johnson won -- and that Senator Goldwater lost. But it further proves that wherever voter attention was focused on the question of race, America is still a White man's country! Let's keep it that way!" (November, 1964)

-- "Martin Luther King seems totally indifferent to the dreadful problem of colored crime, while urging more Federal protection for Negroes. The record of violence indicates that he and others of his ilk have put the cart before the horse. The White majority needs special protection against the colored minority of criminals running wild from coast to coast." (December, 1964)

(Group Research, Inc.)



OCTOBER 1964

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the CITIZEN

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

PRICE: ONE DOLLAR

COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES

A book by Edgar C. Bundy; published by The Church League of America, Wheaton, Ill., 1958, 354 pages, $5.00 hardbound, $2.00 paperback.

Billed as a "Documented Account of the Political Activities of the Federal, National and World Councils of Churches," the book combines the skillful use of quotations and excerpts from policy statements of the Councils and from churchmen allegedly playing key roles in the Councils with citations of "left-wing" associations and activities of these churchmen. The latter are based primarily on publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the report of New York State's Lusk Committee of some years ago. However, one analysis reports that of a total of 52 organizations listed by Bundy as "communist front associations" or "leftist affiliations," only 16 are listed in the House Committee on Un-American Activities' Guide to Subversive Organizations, leaving 36 of which "Bundy has blacklisted on his own authority." ("Sowing Dissension in the Churches," mimeographed, Department of Christian Social Relations, National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church)

An indication of the general "charge" brought by the book against these church organizations is furnished by the following quote regarding the first, the Federal Council: "We will note later how this 'brotherly love' and 'genial spirit' disappeared whenever Congressional Committees and Christians of other bodies would not participate in the Socialistic and pacifist programs of The Federal Council of Churches, began to expose the subversive leaders of the Council who were undermining the church and the government of the United States as well." (Italics in original) Bundy even finds sinister motives in the National Council of Churches' interest in mental health: "Some of the mental health legislation which has recently been introduced on state and Federal levels gives such wide latitude of interpretation to psychiatrists and politicians, who would enforce it once it became law, that it is conceivable that anyone who takes a stand for the sovereignty of the United States, in favor of Congressional investigations, in opposition to fluoridation of public water supplies, and in favor of state's rights could be committed to an asylum in order to silence opposition."

He also attacked the late John Foster Dulles: "We know from testimony given during the hearing on Alger Hiss by the Committee on Un-American Activities, that John Foster Dulles and Alger Hiss were friends of long standing. . . . Mr. Dulles worked side by side with Mr. Hiss in the State Department and in the various conferences that planned the United Nations. But how many American church people knew that Mr. Dulles and Mr. Hiss worked together in the Federal Council of Churches. . . ? Chairman John Foster Dulles submitted the report /of the Federal Council's Inter-Church Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace in 1942/, which had been approved by the members of his committee. It was the most shocking report that has ever come out of any church group. . . ." (Italics in original)

See: The Church League of America (Sec 1 - ORG) and Edgar C. Bundy (Sec 2 - IND)

(Group Research, Inc.)

CROMMELIN, REAR ADMIRAL JOHN G., USN, Ret.
Montgomery and Wetumpka, Alabama

Crommelin graduated from the Naval Academy in 192[illegible] and had a distinguished career as a naval aviator during World War II. He was assigned to duty on the Joint Staff (of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) in Washington in 1948 and the following year became involved in the front-page controversy that came to be known as "the war of the Admirals" -- a controversy centering around unification of the services and including disputes over the relative merits of super-carriers, the B-36 bomber, etc.

Crommelin, then a Captain, participated in the preparation of an "anonymous" memo which made allegations of scandal in the B-36 program; he charged publicly that the Navy was being "nibbled to death;" and he gave the press copies of classified intradepartmental correspondence from several admirals (including Radford, later to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs) in support of some of his contentions. (N. Y. Times 9/11, 11/4 and 11/6/49) After these actions had led to a formal reprimand and reassignment, Crommelin's continued public attacks on defense policy in defiance of repeated direct orders led to his involuntary furlough on half-pay in March, 1950. In May he asked for retirement status to run for the Senate. (Ibid., 3/16 and 5/14/50. He was retired with the rank of Rear Admiral.)

He ran for U. S. Senate that year against Lister Hill and again in 1954 against John Sparkman on a platform which stressed primarily anti-Communism and anti-integration.

In 1955 he joined Asa Carter's Citizens' Councils of Northern Alabama and "Americans for American Action," a short-lived nationalist organization, and began to come closely in contact with such anti-Semites as Conde McGinley. (James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, Appleton-Century Crofts, 1962, New York, N. Y., p. 159) Crommelin became a fervent admirer of McGinley and one of three stockholders in his Christian Educational Association which publishes the extremist Common Sense. (Post Office Department Forms 3526 for the years, 1958-1961). On Nov. 14, 1955 Ten Million Americans Mobilizing For Justice was formed to protest the Senate's censuring of McCarthy. Crommelin worked for Ten Million Americans and addressed their Madison Square Garden rally in which McGinley and other anti-Semites participated. Crommelin's speech included such traditionally anti-Semitic phraseology as "Some Hidden Force or some Hidden Power or Something that is influencing our people. . . They don't act like Americans." (Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Cross-Currents, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956, Garden City, New York, p. 158)

Crommelin was a member of the meeting sponsored by For America in New York, February, 1956, where plans were laid for the third party movement that ran T. Coleman Andrews and Thomas H. Werdel in the 1956 presidential elections. The other participants were Senators McCarthy and Jenner, For America's Bonner Fellers and Clarence Manion, Merwin K. Hart, William Buckley, Jr., General Pedro del Valle, and Hamilto[illegible] Fish, Jr. (New Leader, 10/1/56) Out of this meeti[illegible] grew the September 15 "National States' Right's Confe[illegible]ence" in Memphis, Tennessee. Among the 317 dele[illegible]gates was Edward R. Fields, later to become founde[illegible] and chief spokesman for the National States Rights P[illegible] Crommelin's main political support. That year Cro[illegible]melin again ran against Hill for the Senate, this time with the help of John Kasper and George Lincoln Roc[illegible]well. (Mark Sherwin, The Extremists, St. Martin's P[illegible] 1962, New York, N. Y., p. 153) Kasper lived at Cro[illegible]melin's house during the campaign and Crommelin [illegible] accompanied Kasper on his agitation trips to Clinton, Tennessee, and testified as a character witness for [illegible]per during the trial, which convicted him of inciting [illegible] In the primary Crommelin polled 112,579 votes and [illegible] second.

During 1956 his anti-Semitism showed in his endorse[illegible]ment of John Beatty's Iron Curtain Over America (T[illegible] American Jewish Committee Institute of Human Rela[illegible]tions, For Your Information, March, 1958) and in hi[illegible] speech to the Northern Alabama Citizens' Council in [illegible] which he said that the integration movement was led [illegible] "Felix Frankfurter, a Jew, /and/ Senator Herbert L[illegible]man, a Marxist Jew . . . /and/ their kind of people. [illegible] (Cook, supra, p. 159)

During 1957 Crommelin spoke in Los Angeles and Da[illegible] under the auspices of Gerald L. K. Smith and also ad[illegible]dressed the White Citizens Council of Clinton, Tenn., [illegible] and the D. A. R. of Pensacola, Fla. His topic for all [illegible] these speeches was "The Hidden Force," a reference [illegible] a Jewish conspiracy. (For Your Information, Feb. [illegible]

On September 27, 1957 he wrote to Alabama newspape[illegible] editors as Co-ordinator of the "Adult Educational For[illegible] a group established to tell Southern editors about the "Jewish-Communist-Integration-Conspiracy." (Facts April-May, 1958, published by the Anti-Defamation League) Crommelin was the featured speaker at the Feb. 1, 1958, Ultimatum Conference of Loyal America in Louisville, Kentucky. (For Your Information, Feb. 1958) He ran for Governor of Alabama with Asa Carte[illegible] as candidate for Lieutenant Governor. He claimed hi[illegible] campaign contributions reached $9,000 and that he ma[illegible] 142 stump speeches and 15 television appearances. ([illegible] Your Information, June, 1958) Despite this effort and support of Common Sense, The Cross and The Flag, The Virginian, and American Nationalist (Facts, Apr[illegible] May, 1958) he polled only 2,245 votes while Asa Carte[illegible] received 31,000. (For Your Information, June, 1958)

The newly organized National States Rights Party chos[illegible] Crommelin as their candidate for President in the 196[illegible] elections at their August 30-31, 1958, convention; and TheThunderbolt, November, 1958, announced that Cro[illegible]melin had been named trustee of a "Defend America F[illegible] . . . to aid nationalist victims of Jewish persecution. In 1959, in the race for Mayor of Montgomery, Cromm[illegible] received ten per cent of the votes and ran third in the field in a surprising show of strength, and the following year he ran second in the primary race against Spark[illegible]man for the Senate (Cook, supra, p. 162). In 1960 Sena[illegible]

Javits of New York asked the Navy Department whether it could bring pressure on Crommelin, still technically a member of the Navy, to force him to tone down his anti-Semitism. The Navy, however, decided against censoring the freedom of speech of its retired officer. (Cook, Supra,p . 162-63)

Despite their 1958 decision to run Crommelin for President, NSRP named Faubus as their candidate for President in 1960 and Crommelin as their Vice Presidential choice. The party was represented on the ballots of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Tennessee and Florida. In October, NSRP was taken off the ballot in Florida because Faubus had denied his candidacy. (For Your Information, Oct. 1960) It polled seven percent of the Arkansas vote, just over one per cent of the Tennessee vote and much less in Delaware and Alabama. (For Your Information, Jan. 1961)

Crommelin announced his candidacy again for the Senate in 1962 in Common Sense and The Thunderbolt. This was his third campaign against Lister Hill. NSRP published his platform (reproduced on the following page from the March, 1962, issue of The Thunderbolt) and publicized the campaign. During the last weeks of the campaign four out-of-state ministers came into Alabama to tour the state in sound-trucks. Crommelin's campaign manager, Rev. Owen F. Potito of St. Petersburg, Fla., was later to become NSRP's National Organizer. Rev. Dale J. Benjamin of Portland, Oregon, was Oregon State Chairman and Rev. Gordon Winrod of Little Rock, Ark., was National Chaplain of NSRP. (The Thunderbolt, April, 1962) Rev. Wesley J. Swift of Los Angeles, Calif., was to become a leader of the California unit of NSRP (Chicago Sun-Times, 9/9/63) J. K. Warner, the new Associate Editor of The Thunderbolt, also campaigned actively. (The Thunderbolt, April, 1962) Crommelin polled eleven per cent of the total vote in the May 1 primary election -- a considerable drop from the thirty-two per cent he had won against Hill in 1956. (For Your Information, May, 1962)

In July, Crommelin was a featured speaker of the "Parade of Patriots Week" staged at Stone Mountain, Georgia by the new Defensive Legion of Registered Americans as a counter demonstration to an NAACP convention. The "Legion" under the leadership of James R. Venable, Atlanta, Georgia, chose as the slogan of the "Parade:" "White Man: We're Taking Back Georgia and Our Country." Crommelin spoke on "The American Jew Communist Conspiracy." (For Your Information, Jan. 1961 and July, 1962)

He served on the Advisory Committee of the United States Day Committee, Inc., an organized foe of the United Nations. (Letterhead 1962)

Crommelin claims to be a Democrat, rather than a member of the National States Rights Party (Cook, supra, p. 161), but his association with NSRP seems to be increasingly close. For example, he was a featured speaker at the NSRP convention, September 1, 1962. (For Your Information, Oct. 1962) Also, he was a member of a NSRP group which traveled to Oxford, Mississippi in the Fall of 1962 to try to prevent the enrollment of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi. (Chicago Sun-Times, 9/9/63) He was also closely involved in the April 25, 1963, demonstration protesting Robert Kennedy's conference with Governor Wallace in Montgomery.

Crommelin not only was pictured leading the NSRP demonstrators, but posted appeal bonds for the men who were arrested. (The Thunderbolt, undated issue, probably July 1963) In the March 19, 1963, primaries Crommelin again tried for the post of Mayor of Montgomery. His votes dropped to 8 1/2 per cent of the total. (For Your Information, April, 1963)

(See also report on National States Rights Party, Sec 1 - ORG)

(Group Research, Inc.)

DEL JUNCO, TIRSO, M.D., Pasadena, California 6/27/62

Practicing general surgeon. Cuban by birth. Graduate of Medical School University of Havana, and University of Pennsylvania
Contributing author to national and international medical publications
Member, American Medical Association
President, of Sociedad Ayuda Cubana Anti-Communista
Member, Cuban Army of Liberation (Invasion Bahia De Cochinos 1961)

Faculty member of various Christian Anti-Communism Crusade "schools," billed as classmate of Fidel Castro.

DODD, BELLA V. Dr., New York City 6/27/62

Practicing attorney (admitted to N.Y. Bar 1931). Born in Italy
Graduate of Hunter College, Columbia University, New York University
Past member of Communist Party (very active 1944-1948)
Former union member and also member of American Labor Party
Testified before, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, House Un-American Activities Committee, Senate Rules Committee, and Department of Justice
Conditionally baptized in Catholic faith by Bishop Fulton Sheen on 4/7/52 (Christian Anti-Communism Crusade Pamphlet from Midwest School of Anti-Communism, 1962)
Active faculty speaker, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade
Committee member, Anti-Communist Liaison, which is the right-wing coordinating group headed by Edward Hunter and originated in March 1962 by Billy James Hargis' meeting in Washington, D.C.

DRAKEFORD, JOHN W., Fort Worth, Texas 6/27/62

Australian-born Baptist minister and psychologist, now a marriage and family counselor
Came to U.S. in 1954. Took Doctorate at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and wrote thesis on "The Implications of Communism for Religious Education."
Appears on southern Baptist radio programs.

Faculty speaker, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (founded by a fellow Australian Baptist, Dr. Fred C. Schwarz)

Sec 2 - IND
7/1/63

DILLEY, ROBERT D.
809 E. 28th St., Des Moines, Iowa

President and founder, Dilley Manufacturing Co. (producers of book covers, advertising specialties), 2703 E. Grand Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa

Graduated from Knox College, Gales burg, Illinois. Resident of Des Moines since 1950 (Des Moines Tribune, 8/11/61)

Member, John Birch Society; helped organize two chapters in Des Moines, May, 1961 (Des Moines Tribune 8/11/61)

Member, Iowans for Effective Citizenship
Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce
National Association of Manufacturers (Des Moines Tribune 8/14/61)
National Advisory Board, Christian Crusade (Weekly Crusader 2/8/63)

Offices: Secretary, Christian Businessmen's Committee
Vice-president, Lee Township Republican Club (Des Moines Tribune 8/14/61)
Temporary State Chairman, The Conservative Party of Iowa (Des Moines Register 5/6/63)

Candidate: Des Moines City Council, October, 1961 (defeated) (Des Moines Tribune 8.14/61)
Republican nomination for 5th District Congressman, Nov., 1962 (Defeated) (Des Moines Register 4/8/62)

Author: Message for America; a handbook for those who will defend freedom; Des Moines, 1962, Independence Press Publishers, Inc. (same address as Dilley Manufacturing Co.) $4.00 hardbound; $2.50 paperback. Advertised in American Opinion, 3/63, and Weekly Crusader, 2/8/63.

"In a free market economy, only the government or large voting blocs can exploit workers by setting hours, limiting production, and artificially establishing minimum wages which cause unemployment." (p. 81)

"It is the author's belief that if people were given the facts, social security and all socialism would disappear." (p. 150)

Helped organize the "Midwest Conservative Party Planning Seminar," held 5/3-4/63 in Des Moines, a project of Kent Courtney to test conservative political strength in the Midwest (Des Moines newspapers, 4/26/63). Although the 9-state planning seminar drew only 75 people (Pierre State News, 5/6/63), the formation of the Conservative Party of Iowa was announced. Dilley was named temporary State Chairman and Albert A. Payne (Sec 2 - IND) was named temporary Secretary. (Des Moines Register 5/6/63)

Dilley opposes welfare programs, public housing and local participation in Federal programs (Des Moines Tribune 8/14/61), as well as U. S. participation in the United Nations, on the grounds that the U. N. sessions are not opened with prayer (Des Moines Register, 4/30/62). He has appeared before the Des Moines City Council in favor of expanding, rather than eliminating, the question on membership in subversive organizations on city employment application forms (Des Moines Register 9/12/61) and has sharply criticized the Iowa House of Representatives for rejecting the "Liberty Amendment" to repeal the Federal income tax. (Ames Tribune 5/2/63) He is working through the John Birch Society specifically for the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice Warren. (Des Moines Tribune 8/11/61)

5/14/62

BROGAN, COLM

Contributing Editor, American Opinion, Birch Society magazine (5/62 masthead)
Contributor, National Review (listed on masthead, 4/24/62)
Author of: "The Price of Free Medicine," The Freeman, 6/56 (listed as "a British journalist advocate of individualism, and critic of Socialism.")
The Democrat at the Supper Table, London, 1945

BROPHY, FRANK CULLEN, Phoenix, Arizona 5/14/62

"Philanthropist, cattleman, prominent banker, outstanding businessman, civic leader, and a very highly regarded citizen...." (1/31/62 John Birch Society brochure)

National Council, John Birch Society (1962 brochure)
Sponsor, Manion Forum (4/2/62 list)
Author: Though Far Away (1962 Birch brochure)
National Committee, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (3/19/62 letterhead)

BUNKER, COLONEL LAURENCE E., Wellesley, Massachusetts 5/14/62

National Council, John Birch Society (1962 brochure)
Editorial Advisory Committee, American Opinion (Birch Society magazine, 5/62)
Committee of One Million Against The Admission of Communist China to the United Nations (1962 letterhead)
National Board, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (New York Times, 8/30/59), John Birch Society "front" (Welch, Blue Book)

On staff of General Douglas MacArthur for ten years (New York Post, 5/31/61)

Lawyer, Harvard graduate, founding member of the Birch Society (New York Times, 3/5/62)

Ran for trustee of the public library, Wellesley, Massachusetts, in an election in which his Birch Society membership was an issue. Defeated. (New York Times, 3/5/62; Washington Post, 3/6/62)

BAARSLAG, KARL HERMAN WILLIAM
Washington, D. C.

Until recently, a professional Staff Member, Senate Republican Policy Committee (Spring, 1963, Senate Directory); currently reported by the Disbursing Office of the House of Representatives to be on the payroll of Congressman Donald Bruce of Indiana.

Member, National Strategy Staff, American Security Council (Washington Report, 5/20/63) (See Sec 4 - Special Report #1, American Security Council)

Now about 63 years of age, Baarslag was a marine radio operator in the 1920's and 1930's, and a founder of the Radio Officers Union (AFL) in 1932. A book about the role of radio operators in marine disasters (SOS to the Rescue, Oxford Univ. Press, 1935) seems to have led to a writing career, being followed by Coast Guard to the Rescue (Farrar and Rinehart, 1937), Robbery by Mail (Farrar and Rinehart, 1938), and Islands of Adventure (Farrar and Rinehart, 1940 -- based on material gathered while Baarslag was on the W. L. Mellon yacht, Vagabondia, presumably as radio man). During World War II, he served in the anti-subversive branch of the Office of Naval Intelligence, reaching the rank of Lt. Commander. In 1945 he wrote an official History of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, which was published by the union.

In 1947 he was employed by the American Legion as "Research Director on Subversion and Un-American Activities," with an office in Washington, D.C., and a newsletter, Firing Line (see below). He resigned from the Legion post in March, 1953, and in July he was appointed by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis) as Research Director of the Senator's Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee. In 1956 and subsequent years he was employed as a consultant by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (See U.S. News and World Report, 6/12/53 and N.Y. Times 7/19/53 for biographical data.)

Baarslag's resignation from the American Legion job followed "clashes within the Legion over the un-American activities branch." The Baarslag unit had kept card files on some 500,000 people and had "often protested against entertainers on TV and radio whom it regarded as objectionable" as well as attacking alleged "'Commie coddling' in the motion picture industry." After a proposal to upgrade the unit into a full-fledged "division" of the Legion had been "quietly killed," the inner fight continued over alleged "censorship" of the unit's newsletter, The Firing Line, which Baarslag edited. Baarslag protested that material, such as a list of 280 "predominantly non-Communist" signers of a petition for amnesty for convicted Smith Act violaters, was being censored "on grounds that had nothing to do with legality." When his protests brought no response he resigned. The Legion continued the branch and The Firing Line, but moved the unit from Washington to Indianapolis. The Legion denied that this represented any "toning down" of its anti-subversive activities program and denied also that there had been any "more censorship [of Firing Line] recently than in past years." (Source for preceding: U.S. News and World Report 6/12/53 and 7/24/53)

Baarslag's appointment to the staff of the McCarthy Subcommittee was also accompanied by controversy, in the form of a blast by Robert Johnson, the outgoing head of the State Department's international information agency (fore-runner of U.S.I.A.), against Baarslag testimony before the McCarthy Committee three months previously. Baarslag had visited some European libraries of the Johnson agency as an American Legion official and, appearing before the McCarthy Subcommittee, had commented that these libraries "just don't go in for anti-Communist literature." Johnson called the statement "completely false" and Baarslag "completely incompetent as an observer or downright malicious." It developed that Baarslag had been primarily concerned by an absence of the American Legion Magazine. (See Denver Post 7/12/53 and N.Y. Times 7/17/53 and 7/18/53)

In addition to the books previously mentioned, Baarsla authored a lengthy pamphlet titled "Communist Trade Union Trickery Exposed!", published first in 1947 by Argus Publishing Co., and reissued in a "revised and enlarged version" in 1949. The fifth printing appeared in 1952. Basically, the work is an expansion of two articles he wrote for the American Legion Magazine (issues of January and February, 1947). It indicates that real Communists can "infallibly" be distinguished from independent radicals or liberals by their use of a standardized "jargon" and by their "slavish" paralleling of the Party line. Baarslag also gives numerous examples of techniques utilized by "the comrades" in disrupting meetings and attempting to control and manipulate unions and he suggests that "Low, dirty, underhanded tricks cannot be patented or copyrighted; anything the Commies can use can be used against the by the majority." A list of "Recommended Reading" is included. Among the books are Elizabeth Bentley's Out of Bondage, Louis Budenz's The Cry Is Peace, James Burnham's The Coming Defeat of Communism, John T. Flynn's While You Slept, and Edward Hunter' Brain-washing in Red China. Among the periodicals are Counterattack, The Freeman (published by the Foundation for Economic Education), Human Events (See Sec 4 - Special Report #10), and National Republi

While with the Legion, Baarslag worked with the All-American Conference to Combat Communism (e.g. their "pilot project" Freedom Week, held in Milwaukee in December, 1951), and in 1962 Congressman Bruce inserted in the Congressional Record a bibliography prepared for the All-American Conference by Baarsla Included on the bibliography are Anthony Bouscaren's Guide to Anti-Communist Action, James Burnham's The Web of Subversion, S. M. Draskovitch's Tito -- Moscow's Trojan Horse, Clarence Manion's Key to Peace, Marion Miller's I Was a Spy, Herbert Philbri I Led Three Lives, Fred Schwarz's You Can Trust Th Communists, W. Cleon Skousen's The Naked Commun (Probably one of the best all around handbooks on the whole subject of Communism"), Gen. Wedemeyer's Wedemeyer Reports, and Gen. Willoughby's Shanghai Conspiracy. (See Sec 2 - IND facts sheets on the preceding authors)

In 1955, Baarslag received a $1,045 "scholarship" fr

Facts Forum, the predecessor of Life Lines. (See Sec 4 - Special Report #6, Life Lines)

On September 16, 1962, Baarslag was the initial speaker at the week-long dedication ceremonies for the new headquarters of Major Bundy's Church League of America. (See Sec 1 - ORG; also Sec 3 - PUB, fact sheet on News and Views which includes quote from speech)

Speaker, Florida Governor's Conference on Cold War Education, June 12, 1963. (Tampa Tribune 6/13/63)

Treasurer, Liberty Lobby (Sec 1 - ORG)

Carto, a San Franciscan in his late 30's, has played a significant, if not prominent, role in a variety of major right-wing organizations:

Liberty and Property (P. O. Box 180, San Francisco) - Carto served as Executive Director of this organization, which existed during the five years 1955-60. Liberty and Property published the monthly newsletter, Right, and proclaimed itself for "Constitution," "Freedom," and "Nationalism." It also published, in 1955, the First National Directory of "Rightist" Groups, prepared under Carto's direction. (The First National Directory is currently in its 4th edition -- plus a 1963 Supplement -- and is now published by The Noontide Press, P. O. Box 713, Sausalito, California. The Noontide Press also has published a 1-volume edition of Imperium by the late "mystery man" and "pro-Nazi," Francis Parker Yockey, with an "Introduction" by Carto. Further evidence that Noontide Press is a lineal descendant of Liberty and Property is the fact that it offers for sale the complete back issues of Right, and that its latest publishing venture is a monthly called Western Destiny, whose co-editor was formerly "the guiding spirit of Right.") Right has been described by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as having been "an outlet for anti-Semitic propaganda and a clearing house of information about the activities of anti-Semites and anti-Semitic organizations." (Facts, Nov-Dec., 1961. Other sources for preceding are "Reading from the Right" by Wilbur Baldinger in The Progressive, June, 1956; American Jewish Committee, For Your Information, August, 1955; Facts, June-July, 1957; Right, September, 1957; and Western Destiny, June, 1964.)

Congress of Freedom - In 1954, when the Congress of Freedom was first "organized on a permanent basis," under the leadership of Robert LeFevre, Carto was one of those elected to the Board of Directors. (Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph 4/27/54). He served as Secretary of the organization and was "in charge of advance arrangements" for its 1955 meeting in San Francisco. (Gene Marine in The Nation 5/14/55) Although he was a speaker at the 1957 meeting, Carto had dropped from the Congress of Freedom letterhead by 1958. However, he was one of 300 who were named for "Liberty Awards" at the 1959 meeting (Gazette-Telegraph 4/12/59), and he gave the invocation at one of the 1961 sessions in Washington--as a representative of Liberty Lobby. (Program; other references on Carto and the Congress of Freedom are: Facts, Apr.-May, 1955 and For Your Information, April, 1957.)

We, The People! - The September, 1957, issue of Right indicated that Carto had been "a Regional Vice-President of We, The People!," which had been organized two years previously. From 1958 through 1961 he was listed on We, The People! materials as a member of their National Advisory Board, and he was on the program of at least 3 of their annual conventions: in 1957, 1958 and 1960. (Programs and brochures)

John Birch Society - The Anti-Defamation League reports that for "several months during 1959," Carto worked for the Society "in an executive or organizing capacity," operating "apparently" from the headquarters in Belmont. (Facts, Nov.-Dec., 1961) During this period, Carto contributed two articles to Welch's magazine, American Opinion. (February and July-August, 1959 issues)

Christian Crusade - Carto was a speaker at the August, 1961 meeting of the Hargis group and the following April he was one of those attending the closed meeting in Washington, D.C. called by Hargis, out of which came the Anti-Communist Liaison, headed by Edward Hunter. (Facts, April, 1962) A brief article by Carto appeared in Hargis' Christian Crusade, Jan.-Feb., 1962. Note also that Hargis has served on the Board of Policy of Carto's Liberty Lobby.

Other Activities

At the time of the 1956 Republican Convention in San Francisco, Carto set up and directed a "Conservative Republican Headquarters." It was subsequently claimed that 100,000 pieces of literature were distributed by the "Headquarters," which was visited by J. Bracken Lee and Westbrook Pegler. The "purpose of the HQ was in the nature of insurance, being geared to the good possibility that Ike planned to withdraw from the race at the last moment, throwing his support to a trotskyite like Earl Warren." (Right, Sep., 1956, Supplement)

In 1962 Carto had a minor brush with the authorities in the Washington, D.C. area in connection with his distribution of literature at a suburban supermarket, "warning against merchandise imported from Communist countries." He was fined $10 for disorderly conduct. (Washington Post 11/21/62) Several weeks later Carto announced that he was suing the supermarket firm for $325,000 in damages in connection with the incident (and his alleged mistreatment by store employees). (Liberty Letter 3/6/63) At last report the case was still at issue in Baltimore's U. S. District Court.

Carto and Liberty Lobby

Since 1957 Carto's primary interest appears to have been the Liberty Lobby, which he initiated and now serves as Treasurer. He called for such an organization in his April, 1957 speech at the Congress of Freedom. (For Your Information, May, 1957) His proposal was for a single office to "utilize the cooperative effort of all our big patriotic groups" and to "complement and supplement the grass-roots work of the various new party groups and political action groups." (Right, Sep., 1957) By August, 1957 Carto had a 16-member temporary Advisory Board, announced a budget goal of $119,500, and was using his San Francisco office as Liberty Lobby headquarters until sufficient funds were available to open the proposed Washington office. He listed himself as "Corresponding Secretary." (Ibid., August, 1957) By January, 1958, he reported that $10,000 had been raised toward the projected budget. (Ibid.) But as of March, 1959, Liberty Lobby was still referred to as only "partly set up in Washington." (Ibid.) A year later it was finally announced that it was "under way in Washington" with Col. E. C. Pomeroy as Washington Secretary. (Ibid., March, 1960) Carto's San

Francisco Post Office Box has continued to serve as the address for Liberty Lobby's "West Coast Office." (See April, 1964 letterhead, for example)

In addition to serving as Treasurer and on the Liberty Lobby Board of Policy, Carto has represented the organization at other right-wing meetings, such as Congress of Freedom and We, The People! (see above). More recently he has appeared on the program of both the 1963 and 1964 "Schools of Politics" conducted by the Government Education Foundation, which is closely interlocked with Liberty Lobby. (See Sec 1 - ORG) While the nominal head of Liberty Lobby is Curtis Dall and its Executive Secretary now is W. B. Hicks (formerly with Human Events), Carto is generally considered to be the moving spirit as well as the originator of the operation.

Some Quotes

--On the space program: "Our venture to infinity will be very short-lived if we come home to an earth peopled with a rapidly degenerating human species; to nights that crawl with the prowlings of depraved, raceless savages . . .; to a tyranny over our government exercised by organized and predatory minorities; to impossible taxes to support degenerative 'welfare' schemes that are deliberately designed to proliferate the unfit and inferior at the expense of the productive and creative; . . . ." (Introduction to Imperium, pp. xl-xli)

--On education: "Americans can no longer tolerate the subversion of their educational system. Most of the professional 'Reducators,' such as Clark Kerr, super-liberal UC /Univ. of California/ prexy, are completely failing in their responsibility to teach their charges the truth or prepare them for life in the real world. Unless something is done immediately to force the teaching of the facts of Communism as it is instead of how the Communists reach it should be, we are utterly lost." (Right, June, 1960, italics in original) In replying (for Liberty Lobby) to a questionnaire on education, Carto rated the "situation in public schools generally undesirable" on every category, including "subversive textbooks," "teacher loyalty," "un-American, anti-Christian content," "Godlessness in schools," "indifference to American tradition" and "domination by anti-intellectuals." (Mary Anne Raywid, The Ax-Grinders, N. Y., Macmillan, 1962, p.15)

--On the churches: "They all have a basic antipathy towards Marxism because of its atheism. But they are effective anti-Marxists only if their disagreement with atheism is deep and earnest. For the creed of a great many so-called 'Christian' churches and prominent churchmen can only be described as communistic, with the impertinence added of their daring to invoke Divine blessing for the apostasy." (American Opinion, Feb., 1959)

--On Hawaiian statehood: "Gentlemen, this is a road with no ending. This is the road to world government. It is the highway through the gradual watering down of the idea of American nationality and nation-hood to a meaningless, characterless, cosmopolitan universality. It is a violence to American sovereignty. It is suicide." (1959 testimony before Senate Interior Committee, reprinted in Right, March, 1959)

--On Foreign Policy: "Ever since before the end of the war, and in spite of complete knowledge of the facts, the Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower Administrations have done perhaps irreparable harm to our military position through bungling and stupid decisions." (Right, Nov., 1958)

--On the Peace Corps: "The ultimate expression of this militant water-pistol imperialism is the hilarious yet deeply symbolic 'Peace Corpse,' /spelling in original/ the true expression of the zeitgeist. Created out of the typically American combination of abysmal do-good stupidity and inability to gauge the feelings of others, and enlightened greed, this is the perfect symbol for today." (Introduction to Imperium, p.xxxiii)

--On "capitalism vs. communism": "Perhaps the most important single result of the general acceptance of Marx's sham antithesis, 'communism vs. capitalism,' is that it has led anti-Communists to take sides in the argument as if it were real. /According to Carto, "by 'capitalism' Marx meant nothing more specific than the economic world of man; and by 'communism,' as an alleged cure for an alleged disease, he meant nothing but an unworkable, inhuman theory, doomed always to inevitable failure."/ . . . . Still another of the many negative effects of the manufactured dichotomy has been to teach people to think in terms of systems rather than people. This has helped to create the widely accepted but essentially communist fiction that the only difference between our Western Culture and certain others is a system with a name, and not our own peculiar, ancient, mores and institutions. This intellectual curse has helped the Communists and their 'liberal' allies and dupes to dehumanize history, knocking cultural individuality out of it; to reduce the story of civilization to an equalitarian, mechanistic, and essentially atheistic environmentalism and economic determinism. The much-touted historian, Arnold Toynbee, is one example. . . ." (American Opinion, July-August, 1959)

(Group Research, Inc.)

COMMON SENSE
530 Chestnut Street, Union, N. J.

Editor: Conde McGinley
Owner and Publisher: Christian Educational Association (same address)
Stockholders: John G. Crommelin, Jr., Hannah Cummings, James Weis
(Statement of ownership, Common Sense, 10/1/61)
Circulation: Average 89,500 (statement of ownership); published semi-monthly, once in July and August, $1/yr., or $3 first class (sealed).

History: First issue of Common Sense published in June 1947, Newark, N. J., as a weekly. Moved to Union, N. J. in November 1947, and became semi-monthly the next year. The Christian Education Association was organized early in 1954 to serve as owner and publisher. Prior to this McGinley had been the sole owner. (House Un-American Activities Committee, "Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups," December 17, 1954)

McGinley has received substantial financial support from Benjamin Freedman, a long time anti-Zionist, who was among the leaders of an attempted smear of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg upon her nomination to be Assistant Secretary of Defense in 1950. (See Alfred J. Friendly, "Case History of a Smear," The Progressive, May 1951)

Contributors to Common Sense: In the past Common Sense has published articles by such extremists as Upton Close, John J. Fleck, Dr. Austin J. App, Merwin K. Hart, Robert Williams and Marilyn Allen. (Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Cross-Currents, Doubleday, 1956, p. 52) During 1961-62 articles by Hart, Dan Smoot, Gen. P. A. del Valle, and Kenneth Goff and reprints of material from domestic and foreign extremist press also appeared in Common Sense.

Viewpoint: "Any person or organization who opposes communism in the open, must be prepared to defend himself from the Jews; they are the 'chosen people' who founded communism and spread it throughout the world." (Common Sense, 10/15/61)

The House Un-American Activities Committee in the report cited above stated that, while "Common Sense represents itself as 'the Nation's anti-Communist paper', " *** "Such patriotic claims provide poor disguise ... for some of the most vitriolic hate propaganda ever to come to the attention of the committee. Common Sense defines communism as 'Judaism' and devotes its pages almost exclusively to attacks on the Jewish and to a lesser extent the Negro minorities in our Nation. Sympathy for the former Nazi regime in Germany also is injected into this propaganda..." (p. 10)

The committee also reported that "Information available to the committee on the circulation and financial status of Common Sense indicates that Conde McGinley has developed a shrewd and flourishing business out of hate propaganda." (p. 17)

The October 1, 1953 issue of Common Sense, headed: "THE COMING RED DICTATORSHIP ASIATIC MARXIST JEWS CONTROL ENTIRE WORLD AS LAST WORLD WAR COMMENCES. THOUSANDS OF PLOTTERS PLACED IN KEY POSITIONS BY INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT. FEW WERE EVER ELECTED," has been reprinted and widely circulated. This attack on several dozen prominent Americans contains several references to the phoney Protocols of Zion and includes such statements as the following: "Rather than endure the smear that would come their way, many members of Congress are willing to sell their own future generations into slavery. Spineless creatures engrossed with the egotism of the importance of their positions *** They are presiding over the dissolution of the white race."

Note: Common Sense under McGinley is not to be confused in any way with the liberal monthly which previously bore that name.

[12-9-63]

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN FREEDOMS
Suite 520, 301 First Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Sec 1 - ORG
12/9/63

A loose-knit, small group of prominent citizens seeking to defeat the proposed civil rights legislation by distributing printed material in key states and pressuring Congress from headquarters in the Carroll Arms Hotel, across from the Senate Office Building. It was incorporated in Delaware, Sept. 25, 1963.

Origin

Beginning August 1, 1963, Washington newspapers started reporting the arrival of an organized move against President Kennedy's civil rights program, then pending before Congress. On that date, the Washington Daily News named John J. Synon as operator of a Co-ordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, and quoted him as saying: "We are being supported primarily by the various sovereignty commissions of the Southern states." The objective was stated by Synon to be "to defeat the Civil rights act of 1963 or as I choose to call it, the force bill."

Two days later, the Washington Post reported that "a leading segregationist lawyer is quietly seeking to enlist powerful Washington lobbyists in a Southern campaign to defeat President Kennedy's civil rights program." The lawyer was identified as John Satterfield of Yazoo City, Mississippi, and his technique was identified as inviting the lobbyists to an "off-the-record" breakfast meeting in the Statler Hilton Hotel. The invitations were sent to registered Washington lobbyists from Satterfield's law office in Jackson, Miss., in a letter declaring that the bill, if enacted, "will have a greater adverse effect on business and industry than any legislation ever offered in the history of our Nation." (Washington Post 8/3/63)

The technique was quite complete. Lobbyists who did not attend the breakfast were sent a follow-up letter signed by Satterfield, using the new Washington address, enclosing brochures and inviting inquiries for more information about "the other side."

More knowledgeable reports of the new drive had appeared a little earlier in the South. For instance, an article in the July 25 Summit Sun, a far-right newspaper published by Mary D. Cain in Summit, Miss., reported Governor Ross Barnett as saying that the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, of which he was ex-officio Chairman, was cooperating "to the fullest" in a nationwide program opposing President Kennedy's civil rights proposals. John Satterfield was identified as attorney for the commission and quoted as saying that numerous states were cooperating from a Washington office as "the greatest unfied project ever undertaken in the South."

Gov. Barnett, who earlier had resisted Federal desegregation of Mississippi University, was represented as saying that Satterfield's plans were approved by the Commission, which the Sun described as "the state's official segregation watchdog." (Financial support from the Commission is documented below.) Gov. Barnett was also reported as saying that Earle Johnston, Jr., Director of the Commission, and Satterfield had traveled twice to Washington to arrange meetings.

Note: The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, and corresponding agencies in several other states, have supported the work of White Citizen's Councils, action groups formed after the 1954 Supreme Court decision ordering desegregation of public schools. Until recently, the Mississippi legislature even appropriated money for the Citizen's Council of its State.

Officers

Beginning in August of 1963, the organization has listed the following as its only officers:

John C. Satterfield, Secretary-Treasurer. Advisor to Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett and one of the attorneys appearing on behalf of the State of Mississippi in the suit charging Barnett with criminal contempt of Federal court orders against interfering with desegregation of the University of Mississippi. (Washington Post, 11/25/62 and N. Y. Times, 9/29/63) President 1961-62, American Bar Association. In his address as retiring President, Satterfield attacked the post-1937 U. S. Supreme Court (Washington Post 8/3/63), and he was active at the 1963 meeting in opposition to the Kennedy civil rights program (N. Y. Times 8/12/63). Former president, Circuit Riders, Inc., (8/1/52 letterhead), an organization opposing the propagation of "Socialism and Communism and all other anti-American teachings in The Methodist Church." (Sec 1-ORG)

John J. Synon, Director. Formerly Vice President of Selvage and Lee, the public relations firm which has represented the government of Portugal; assistant director of Americans for Constitutional Action; California Industrial Accident Commissioner; public member of the California Board of Control; and executive secretary to former Governor Goodwin J. Knight. A former congressional candidate, he has written for both Christian Economics and Human Events and recently authored the tract "Why Rockefeller Can't Win" which is being distributed by the Patrick Henry Group, Richmond. (Program, Human Events 4th Political Action conference; Americans for Constitutional Action "Report to Stockholders;" Washington Daily News, 8/1/63; and undated brochure from Patrick Henry Group). A John Synon of Virginia was listed as speaking at a June, 1963, banquet sponsored by the Committee to Help Elect the Next President of the United States, a group promoting independent electors. (Jackson, Miss., Daily News 6/18/63)

William Loeb, Chairman. Publisher of the Manchester, N. H. Union-Leader and several other newspapers; National Committee, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (11/25/63 letterhead); National Policy Committee, For America (Sept. 1957 brochure); National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (2/63 letterhead); Sponsor, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters (1/11/63 letterhead); Member, American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, Inc. (6/12/63 letterhead); Board of Directors, Citizens' Foreign Relations Committee (2/11/57 letterhead); Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations (9/27/63 letterhead); and Member, Committee on Electoral College Reform of the American

Good Government Society (3/9/62 letterhead). Loeb has also served as a director and was President from 1941-1943 of the American China Policy Association (Who's Who, 1962-63), which was one of the organizational bulwarks of the so-called China lobby.

James Jackson Kilpatrick, Vice Chairman. Editor, Richmond News Leader, and credited by Time magazine (10/26/63) with running an editorial campaign "that, in large measure, polarized Southern resistence to school integration." Vice-Chairman of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government and Chairman of its Committee on Publications (9/63 letterhead; this is an official agency of the state). Author, Our Sovereign States and The Southern Case for School Segregation. Editorial Advisor, Modern Age, (masthead, Spring, 1962) and contributor to National Review (masthead, 11/19/63). Among his views: "The Negro is fundamentally and perhaps unalterably inferior; he is also immoral, indolent, inept, incapable of learning, and uninterested in full racial equality. The segregationist South feels no guilt about keeping the Negro in his proper place--that is to say, in separate schools ...." (Time, op. cit.)

Note: Both Loeb and Kilpatrick testified before the Senate Committee on Commerce in opposition to the public accommodations features of pending civil rights legislation a few days before their new co-ordinating committee was made public -- and without referring to it. Also, Satterfield filed a statement in opposition, representing himself. (Part 1 of Hearings on S. 1732, July-August 1963, indexed)

Operations

Pamphlets: The first pamphlet published by the Committee is called "S-1731: The Federal Eye Looking Down Your Throat" and argues that the alleged controls in proposed legislation will affect nearly everyone in the country. This was later printed in color, with a cover showing two sinister eyes glaring at the reader from under an "Uncle Sam" hat. The most recent version depicts a heavy chain running down each slender page.

"Blueprint for Total Federal Regimentation" is another pamphlet widely distributed with the group's imprint on the back. Subtitled "Analysis of Civil Rights Act 1963," it is written by Loyd Wright and John C. Satterfield, both of whom are identified with respective legal firms and as members of the American Bar Association. Wright was ABA President six years before Satterfield and ran unsuccessfully against Senator Thomas Kuchel in the 1962 California Republican primary as a conservative. Wright is also head of the National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council (Sec. 4, Special Report #1), a Trustee of Americans for Constitutional Action (Sec. 4, Special Report #9), and a board member of the Americanism Educational League (letterhead 7/62).

The Wright-Satterfield pamphlet begins with this note: "Although many of the major features of 'The Civil Rights Act of 1963' are unconstitutional on their face, this review is limited to a discussion thereof as if the proposals were constitutional and became law." Distribution of the pamphlet, with a covering letter personally addressed, has included members of Congress, labor leaders and other opinion molders. An article by Satterfield and Wright covering much the same arguments was published by Human Events (10/12/63) with pictures of both men and a box urging readers to write to Congress opposing the bills.

Similarly, James J. Kilpatrick has mailed many copies of a 24-page pamphlet, "Civil Rights and Legal Wrongs," published by the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, in opposition to the legislation. Kilpatrick signs a covering letter as Chairman of the Commission's Committee on Publications and uses Commonwealth of Virginia letterheads. An accompanying brochure explains that "The Commission's work is financed through a State appropriation of $125,000 a year." A Kilpatrick letter dated September, 1963, and received in Wyoming includes this explanation:

> You got on this mailing list because we went to a fellow in Washington who is in the mailing list business, and from him we got the names of all the lawyers, doctors, dentists, optometrists, hospital administrators, state and local officials, and school superintendents in Wyoming. We would have bought a list of the school teachers too, but it cost too much money. All we want is to talk with you a few minutes about the pending civil rights bill.

The same pamphlet has been offered as a bonus by Liberty Lobby, a far-right Washington operation, and appeared in article form over Kilpatrick's name in National Review magazine (9/24/63).

Advertisements: In late November, display ads began appearing under the banner of "Civil Rights & Legal Wrongs" in weekly newspapers around Wyoming, Montana and Idaho. Measuring nearly a foot wide and as tall as a newspaper page, the ads appealed to employers, employees, professional and businessmen, school personnel, unions and "everyone" to write Congress in opposition to the civil rights bill. The ads were sponsored by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms and signed by Loeb and Synon.

A different format and a different message appeared as an ad in the Summit, Miss., Sun (9/26/63) with a local angle: "Contact The County Farm Bureau Office For Information And Make A Donation, Large Or Small, To The Committee."

Articles: In mid-November, articles by John C. Satterfield started appearing in country newspapers linking the proposed civil rights bill with Federal control of agriculture. For example, the St. Joseph County Observer (11/13/63), published at Centreville, Michigan, carried an article headlined "From Crop Control To People Control." Satterfield was identified only as "Past Pres. American Bar Assn." Another paper, the Lawton (Mich.) Leader of Nov. 14 identified Satterfield with Fundamental American Freedoms in carrying the same article.

Income

The organization filed its first report with the Clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, as lobbying groups are required to do, in a letter dated October 9 and covering the 3rd quarter of 1963.

On the income side, the report disclosed that $20,000 out

of a total of $22,000 spent through Sept. 30 was received from the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission. Incidentally, Satterfield's personal filing as a lobbyist listed both the Commission and the Co-ordinating Committee as employer, although it did not say which paid how much of the $6,000 he received for services, plus $1,500 for expenses.

The other receipts came from Bruce Dunston, identified by the New York Times (11/4/63) as "a Richmond real estate owner and philanthropist," and Landon Lane, of Alta Vista, Va., identified by the Times as "vice president of the Lane Company, which makes cedar chests." Each contributed $1,000.

On the expenditure side, Synon was paid at the rate of $519.23 per week, plus travel, food and lodging and the usual printing, postage, secretarial and other office expenses were listed. In addition, the following items were of significance in the total expenditure of $23,413.71 during the quarter:

$114.64 to Mrs. Ray L. Erb, Washington, D. C., "travel-committee meetings." Mrs. Erb is a former National Defense Chairman of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Martha Strayer: The DAR; Washington, Public Affairs Press, p. 259); on the Advisory Board of Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade (brochure, 1961); and is Editor of Report to America, organ of The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, a far-right Washington group.

$45.00 to V. C. Mathews, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. -- "Clerical help -- Mailing circulars." The Senate telephone directory lists a Vivian C. Mathews as an employee of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

$525.00 to U. S. Press Association, McLean, Va. -- "Printing and mailing circular." This enterprise recently figured in hearings conducted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee into the use of news media in this country by agents of foreign countries. It specializes in sending prepared editorials to lists of newspaper editors for paying clients. (See Part 6 of Hearings, June 14, 1963)

$1,453.77 to Patricia G. Lutz, Washington, D. C. -- "Salary - Secretary at $161.53 per week." Mrs. Lutz has been associated many years with Human Events, having been shown as Business Manager of that publication in its Oct. 1, 1958, postal statement, for example.

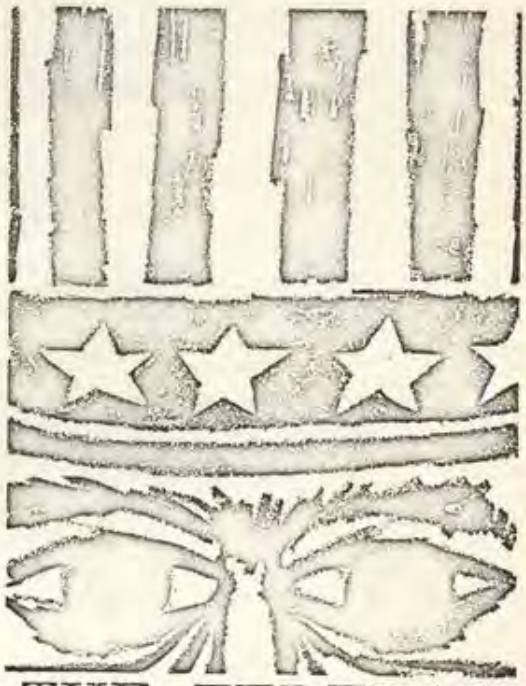
$300.00 to Liberty Lobby, Washington, D. C. -- mailing pamphlet. This is a small but active, far-right group started in 1955. It keeps up a running flow of pamphlets and testimony on many issues, and its officers include extremists such as John Birch Society leaders. (See Sec. 1 - ORG)

$250.00 to William Schulz, c/o Fulton Lewis, Jr., for "Research Service for Pamphlets." Schulz is an assistant to radio commentator Lewis (New York Times 11/4/63); is a Director of Young Americans for Freedom (11/62 New Guard); and has written for Human Events (e.g. 10/13/61 masthead).

$300.00 to Horace Clay, Suite 312 Carroll Arms Hotel -- "Research service for pamphlets." Clay was a legislative assistant to Senator John Tower (R-Texas) until Sept. 30 (N. Y. Times 11/4/63)

$2,200 to Herbert Liebenson, of Silver Spring, Md. -- "Research service for pamphlets." This is apparently the man who is listed as Research Director of the National Small Business Association, in that organization's magazine, Small Business Bulletin, Legislative Edition 1962.

In addition, the New York Times (11/4/63) stated that "the Committee also hired a Washington lawyer, George Stephen Leonard, at a reported fee of $750 a month."



THE FEDERAL EYES LOOKING DOWN YOUR THROAT!

S-1731 HR7152

THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN FREEDOMS
SUITE 520 • 301 FIRST STREET, N.E. • WASHINGTON, D. C.

(Group Research, Inc.)

CROSS AND THE FLAG, THE
P. O. Box 27895
Los Angeles, California

Staff - Editorial Board: Gerald L. K. Smith, Publisher
Charles F. Robertson, Editor
Renata E. Legant
E. M. (Mrs. Gerald L. K.) Smith
Opal Tanner White

Other staff, listed in the November, 1962, issue are:

E. S. Douglas (research)
Kurt Morgan (printing)
Nan Nearhoof (circulation)
C. B. Robertson (publication)
Darlene Robertson (circulation)
Gunda Robertson (publication)
Joseph Sorenson (printing)
Charles W. Winegarner (research)
Nancy Winegarner (research)

Origin - Began publication in April, 1942, at which time Smith was headquartering in Detroit, and his organization was called the Committee of One Million. Later, the magazine moved to St. Louis, Mo., and then, in the early 1950's, to Los Angeles. The format has changed little through the years. Of the present editorial staff, Renata Legant has been with Smith since late 1944, Opal Tanner White since late 1947, and Charles Robertson since about 1953. Those who have been on the editorial staff in past years include:

Bernard Doman
Constance Doman
Don Lohbeck
Virginia Lohbeck
John W. Hamilton
Jonathan E. Perkins
Gerald Smith, Jr.

Circulation - The subscription rate is $2 a year. The annual average circulation reported to the Post Office in the last three years has been:

1960: 17,500 1961: 21,300 1962: 25,000

These figures are supposed to represent "paid" subscriptions and it is not known whether the substantial free distribution of The Cross and the Flag (into every Senator's and Congressman's office, for example) is reflected. In any event, circulation in 1949 was also estimated at 25,000. (See Arnold Forster, A Measure of Freedom, Doubleday, 1950, p. 38)

Format - The bulk of each issue is made up of "Editorial Briefs." In recent issues a "center-spread" feature called "New Letter Items" has been instituted and on occasion the magazine includes "signed articles" though these appear almost always to be reprints of speeches or articles appearing elsewhere and there is no evidence that permission has been sought or given. (Such reprint items are also frequent in the "Editorial Briefs.")

Philosophy - As the "official organ of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, a national political committee," the magazine reprints in each issue the box reproduced below. Analysis by a professor of journalism at U. C. L. A. of a random sampling of content in The Cross and the Flag found that two-fifths of the assertions were specifically anti-Semitic or racist (or both, such as the assertion that the NAACP is a "Jewish front"). (See Walter Wilcox, "The Press of the Radical Right: An Exploratory Analysis") In addition, most, if not all, of the standard right-wing phobias are well represented, including anti-fluoridation, anti-mental health, anti-U. N., anti-foreign aid, anti-Kennedy, and anti-anti-anti-Communists.

Cross-Reference - See also Sec 1 - ORG (Citizens Congressional Committee) and Sec 2 - IND (Gerald L. K. Smith)

10 HIGH PRINCIPLES

The ten high principles on which the Christian Nationalist Crusade rests are as follows:

1. Preserve America as a Christian Nation, being conscious of the fact that there is a highly organized campaign to substitute Jewish tradition for Christian tradition.
2. Expose, fight and outlaw Communism.
3. Safeguard American liberty against the menace of bureaucratic Fascism.
4. Maintain a government set up by the majority which abuses no minority and is abused by no minority. Fight mongrelization and all attempts being made to force the intermixture of the black and white races.
5. Protect and earmark national resources for our citizenry first.
6. Maintain the George Washington Foreign Policy of friendship with all nations, trade with all nations, entangling alliances with none.
7. Oppose a world government and a superstate.
8. Prove that the Worker, the Farmer, the Businessman, the Veteran, the Unemployed, the Aged, and the Infirm can enjoy more abundance under the true American system than any alien system now being proposed by foreign propagandists.
9. Safeguard America's tradition in relationship to immigration.
10. Enforce the Constitution as it pertains to our monetary system.

(Group Research, Inc.)

(Replaces Davis-Draskovich page dated 5/14/62)

Sec 2 - IND
9/20/62

DAVIS, RALPH E., Los Angeles, California

President, General Plant Protection Corporation, which furnishes guards and investigators to government agencies and industrial organizations.

National Vice-Commandant, Marine Corps League (10/53 American Progress)

National Council, John Birch Society (1962 brochure)

Endorser, Platform for Patriotic Americans (9/12/58 list)

Secretary and a Director, American Progress Foundation, an early anti-income tax organization (4/29/54 letterhead)

Board of Directors, National Economic Council (7/16/62 letterhead)

National Advisory Committee, Committee on Pan American Policy (8/8/62 letterhead)

DRASKOVICH, SLOBODAN M., Chicago, Illinois

National Council, John Birch Society (1962 brochure)

Professor of Economics, University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 1933-41. Came to U.S. after World War II, became a citizen in 1956. (John Birch Society Bulletin 9/61)

President, Dushon Silni Association - Serbian nationalist group advocating war with the Communists (N.Y. Post 5/31/61)

Editor in Chief, The Serbian Struggle, weekly newspaper (1962 brochure)

Associate Editor, American Opinion, John Birch Society magazine. (7-8/62 issue)

His article, "The John Birch Society Is A Threat--To Whom?", was inserted in the Birch Society's August, 1961, Bulletin.

National Board, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (N.Y. Times 8/30/

National Advisory Board, We, The People! (1962 brochure)

Author, Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse

(Group Research, Inc.)

EVANS, MEDFORD
P. O. Box 683, Natchitoches, Louisiana

B.A. University of Chattanooga; Ph.D. Yale

Served with the Atomic Energy Commission from October 13, 1947 through March 21, 1952. His admirers claim that during this time he was " . . . Chief of Security Training for our whole Atomic Energy Commission and all of its plants." (Robert Welch, The Blue Book of the John Birch Society, p. 23) or that he " . . . had charge of security matters . . ." at A. E. C. (Independent American, June 1961) According to the Director of Personnel, A. E. C., however, Evans served as Administrative Analyst, Organization and Methods Examiner, and, for the year prior to his resignation, as Chief of Training. (letter, 4/13/62)

Former editor of Facts Forum (Independent American, Oct. 1959)

Formerly a Contributor, National Review (as late as Dec. 1961)

Dean, McMurray College, Abilene, Texas

Professor of Social Science, Northwestern State College, La. When he left this position National Review reported that he was " . . . a recent victim of conformist pressures at Northwestern College in Louisiana." (May 7, 1960)

Formerly on staff of Human Events (Mary Anne Raywid, The Ax-Grinders, Macmillan, 1962, p. 153)

Author, The Secret War for the A-Bomb, (Regnery, 1953) in which, according to Robert Welch, "He made clear that, despite the A-bombs which the Soviets had been exploding for show-off purposes, and to increase their prestige and diplomatic pressures, they had not yet built one. Their agents had simply walked off from our plants with the necessary separate parts, which had then been assembled in Russia, and exploded whenever it best suited the Soviets' pretenses." (The Blue Book of the John Birch Society, 8th printing, 1961, p. 23)

Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society (1962 brochure) and Contributing Editor, American Opinion, the Birch Society publication (masthead, July-August 1962)

Chairman, Organization and Strategy Committee, States Rights Party of Louisiana. (Independent American, Oct. 1959)

Columnist, "The South: Soviet Target," Shreveport (La.) Journal (Independent American, June 1961)

EVANS, M. STANTON
Indianapolis, Indiana

Born, Kingsville, Texas, 1934, the son of Medford Evans (Sec 2 - IND). B.A., Yale, 1955.

Assistant editor, The Freeman, published by the Foundation for Economic Education, 1955.

Editorial Staff, National Review, 1955-56; contributing editor, 1960- .

Managing Editor, Human Events, 1956-59.

Publications Director, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, 1956-59.

Chief editorial writer, Indianapolis News, 1959-60; editor, 1960- .

Received Freedoms Foundation awards for editorial writing, 1959 and 1960.

(Who's Who, 1962-1963)

Evans has become known as one of the most active and articulate "young conservatives." While at Yale, he was a member of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and formed, with the aid of ISI and the Foundation for Economic Education, the "Independent Library," which featured conservative books. (Revolt on the Campus, p. 7) Later he was ISI Publications director and now serves as a trustee (10/5/62 letterhead). His pamphlet "The American Revolution: A Study in Conservatism," was published and distributed by ISI, and he has spoken frequently under ISI auspices His point of view is summarized in an endorsement of ISI: "Students can grow restless against the uniformity of opinion that confronts them. They can protest when they are given Keynesian economics, collectivist political science, and relativist sociology. They can rebel -- but they cannot form an alternative. They need something to pose against this orthodoxy. This is what ISI provides . . . ." (ISI Campus Report, Jan-Feb, 1963)

Evans also serves on the National Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom (2/63 letterhead) and has been credited with writing the Sharon Statement, regarded as the ideological foundation of YAF. (Marvin Kitman, "New Wave from the Right," The New Leader, 9/18/61). In 1960, he received a YAF award "for his contributions to the Nation and to journalism." (New Guard, 3/63)

In addition to these activities, Evans has been the chief chronicler of the young conservatives - YAF, ISI, and all the other organizations, as well as their causes and their leaders - in his book Revolt on the Campus (Regnery, 1961).

Sponsor, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters (1/11/63 letterhead)

Member, Emergency Committee for Chinese Refugees (adv., N. Y. Times, 6/7/62)

Name appears on the letterhead of Kent and Phoebe Courtney's Conservative Society of America, and he has spoken at the following Courtney backed events:

—New Party Rally, 1959 (Independent American, Oct. 1959)
—Solid South Conference, 1960 (Independent American, July 1960)
—Goldwater for President Rally, July 1960, just before the Republican convention (Independent American, August 1960)
—Convention of Conservatives, April 1961, where his topic was, "The Movement to Impeach Earl Warren Can be Successful" (Independent American, May 1961) Evans is reported to have said in this speech that the Supreme Court "is a friend of the Communist movement in this country." (reprint of article from the Toledo Blade, in the Independent American, May 1961)

Member, Textbook Evaluation Committee of America's Future (1962 brochure) This committee was created to enable school personnel to know ". . . which texts teach respect for American concepts of government and economics, and which advocate either subtly or forthrightly some other form of government and economic system." (undated brochure)

Reported to be serving as campaign advisor (Wash. Post 4/6/62) and consultant to retired General Edwin Walker. When Walker appeared before the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee studying muzzling of the military, Evans sat next to him at the witness table, frequently conferred with him and handed him written comments as he answered questions. (Washington Post 4/5-6/62)

Views: on the Communist threat: ". . . the two chief Communist operations in the present phase of the struggle for the world /are/: (1) nuclear disarmament of America through negotiation, propaganda, and sabotage; and (2) disintegration of the U. S. economy and military establishment through attempted racial integration in the South." ("The South: Soviet Target," in Independent American, June 1961, reprinted from Shreveport Journal)

On Integration: "Now the very fact that integration is impossible is the reason why the Communists promote it. By insisting on integration, which cannot succeed, and by destroying the system which has succeeded - legal segregation - the Communists will destroy the South." (Ibid.)

Author (with Allan H. Ryskind and William Schulz), The Fringe on Top (Sec 3 - PUB)

Evans writes a regular column, "At Home," which appears in the National Review Bulletin. Prior to taking over "At Home," he wrote a column called "Trends," which has since been dropped. In recent issues he has attacked the Supreme Court (for the prayer ruling), the liberals at the Young Republican convention, Robert Oppenheimer and the Fermi Award, managed news, and the Russian clergymen who toured this country and their host, the National Council of Churches.

(Replaces Edison page dated 5/14/62)

Sec 2 -IND
10/5/62

EDISON, CHARLES, West Orange, New Jersey

Son of Thomas Edison. Former Governor of New Jersey, 1941-44, and Secretary of the Navy, 1939-40. Past president, National Municipal League, 1947-50; former director of National Recovery Administration for New Jersey; former regional director, Federal Housing Administration; member, New Jersey Welfare Council. (Who's Who, 1962-63)

1. Affiliations with organizations and publications:

Chairman of the Board, McGraw-Edison Co., manufacturers of electrical equipment.

Director of McGraw-Edison's Committee for Public Affairs (4/12/62 letterhead) Executive Director, under Edison, is Douglas Caddy, who is also the National Director of Young Americans for Freedom. (New Leader, 9/18/61, YAF letterhead, 7/62)

Editorial Advisory Committee, American Opinion, John Birch Society magazine. (7-8/62 masthead)

National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (2/16/62 letterhead); Patron, New Guard, YAF magazine (3/62 issue); received Honorary Award from YAF at their Madison Square Garden rally in March, 1962 (3/62 New Guard); wrote letter to various members of Congress asking them to join the National Advisory Committee of YAF. (letter, 3/29/61)

Charter subscriber, Human Events (Special Issue, 1/62)

Endorser, Manion Forum (1962 list)

Contributed $3,500 to For America in 1956. (Gore Subcommittee Report, 1956)

Treasurer and trustee, Americans for Constitutional Action (1961 letterhead) Contributed to ACA - $3,600 in 1958, $6,000 in 1959, $6,000 in 1960. (Reports filed with Clerk, House of Representatives)

One of four Co-chairmen of Dr. Fred Schwarz's Greater New York Anti-Communism Rally, June 28, 1962 (N. Y. Times, 5/29/62)

2. Affiliations with foreign policy groups:

Committee of Endorsers, which proposed a foreign policy program that would withdraw recognition of the Soviet Union, limit all foreign aid to "cooperating allies," actively promote anti-communist underground groups in other countries, and drastically curtail the power of the U. N. (N. Y. Times, 2/28/55)

Sponsor, Citizens Foreign Relations Committee (National Review, 3/16/57) (See GRI Special Report #4, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, p. 5)

Steering Committee, Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations (1962 letterhead)

Chairman, American-Asian Educational Exchange, Inc. (letterhead, 3/62), an organization which seeks to promote an aggressive policy in the Far East against Communist China, and distributes pamphlets on the world-wide communist threat.

Sponsor, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters (1962 letterhead)

3. Political affiliations and contributions:

Co-chairman of the National Committee for T. Coleman Andrews and Thomas H. Werdel, conservative third party candidates in 1956. (news release of 3/6/57, announcing the continuation of the Andrews-Werdel National Committee under the name of the Interim Committee for Independent Action) Contributed $4,500 to Andrews-Werdel. (Report of the Gore Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, 1956)

Chairman, National Committee for Robert Morris, in 1960 campaign to unseat Senator Case of New Jersey. (ACA "Report to 'Stockholders,'" 1960)

Executive Committee, Conservative Party of New York (N. Y. Daily Mirror, 6/25/62)

DEL VALLE, GEN. PEDRO AUGUSTO (USMC, Ret'd)
41 Cornhill Street, Annapolis, Maryland

Co-founder and President, Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc. (Sec 1 - ORG)

President, Christian Educational Association, publisher of the anti-Semitic Common Sense (see below, page 2)

Vice-President, National Economic Council (Sec 1 - ORG) (Economic Council Letter 11/15/67, one of five vice-presidents, he has been listed since 1950)

Born in Puerto Rico in August, 1893, del Valle (pronounced del va'ya) grew up in Baltimore, Md., and graduated from the Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1915. As a Lt. Colonel in the Marine Corps in the mid-1930's, he was sent as a military observer with the Italian forces invading Ethiopia. He subsequently published a study of the campaign (Roman Eagles Over Ethiopia, Harrisburg, Pa.: Military Services Publishing Co., 1940), which was strongly pro-Italian. Though noting that "Neither ethics nor humanitarianism could possibly condone this conquest," he went on to contend that

> From the point of view of practical politics, however, it finds its parallel in many established precedents, not the least of which was our own /in obtaining the rights to the Panama Canal/. (pages 45-6)

Del Valle has praise for "the sagacious leadership of the Fascist Dictator" (page 48), and refers to Italy's "greater need of expansion" (page 43). He notes that Gen. Frusci, whose troops he accompanied, "cited me for valor" and says "I prized the thing as a memento of those brave men whose soldierly qualities and fine personal attributes I had learned to admire." (page 39) Del Valle, in turn, dedicates the book "To my good comrades of the Colonna Frusci."

His later Marine Corps career included service on Guadalcanal and command of the Marine First Division in the Okinawa campaign. After the war he served as Inspector General and then as director of personnel for the Corps prior to his retirement in 1948. His retirement rank is lieutenant-general. For a few years after retirement, del Valle was employed by the International Telephone and Telegraph Co., serving in Buenos Aires as one of their vice-presidents. By 1953, however, he had returned to Maryland to live.

Del Valle's affinity for the right-wing seems to predate his retirement from the Marine Corps, as he was one of those attending a November, 1947, dinner honoring Merwin K. Hart of the National Economic Council. (See Buchanan Committee hearings on "Lobbying, Direct and Indirect," Part 4, page 256) As noted above, by 1950 del Valle had become one of the officers of Hart's National Economic Council. In late 1950, while still in South America for I T & T, he wrote an open letter to President Truman urging U. S. withdrawal from the United Nations, which, he said, "did not prevent the political Zionists from seizing Arab territories in Palestine . . . ." (December, 1950, text inserted in the Congressional Record 2/12/51, Appendix, pp. A741-2) At about the same time he wrote a piece which appeared in Common Sense (issue of 1/1/51) charging that the Marshall Plan was "written by a Zionist, to serve the purposes of Zionism, not of the U. S. A." Finally, it was also about this time that del Valle provided an endorsement for Know Your Enemy, a 56-page pamphlet by Maj. Robert H. Williams characterized by the Anti-Defamation League as "a blatant attack on Zionists and Jews." (Facts, April-May, 1954. Del Valle subsequently recommended Williams' Intelligence Summary to delegates to the 1952 Republican convention. Ibid.)

According to del Valle's later story, 1950 was also the year he submitted to the Joint Chiefs of Staff a plan he had developed "for the utilization of the exiles and the people in the enslaved countries themselves to combat the Reds in their own territory . . . ." He claims that the Joint Chiefs were favorable but referred him to the Central Intelligence Agency where CIA-head W. Bedell Smith seemed more interested in recruiting del Valle to go "to Tokyo as their representative, in order that I might stand up against MacArthur . . . and perhaps cause his downfall." He notes that MacArthur had "disputed their jurisdiction over his intelligence affairs." His reaction, said del Valle, "was prompt and violent," since he "could never be party to an attack on the best soldier statesman we had ever produced." (Del Valle's allegations were published in a Westbrook Pegler column which del Valle confirmed to reporter Walter Trohan the following day. Washington Times-Herald 7/30 and 7/31/53)

In April, 1954, del Valle announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for governor of Maryland, stating that he would campaign on a platform of "states' rights and governmental economy." (Washington Star 4/11/54) He received less than 5,000 votes. The following year del Valle was chosen as Temporary Chairman of the Interim Committee for a New Party, organized by Kent and Phoebe Courtney and aimed at "integration of Southern states' righters into a national movement." (Right, October and December, 1955) In 1956, the Interim Committee joined forces with the Constitution Party and backed T. Coleman Andrews and Thomas Werdel, the States' Rights Party nominees. Del Valle was active in the write-in campaign for Maryland on this ticket. (See his article in American Mercury, June, 1957.)

Organizational Affiliations

In addition to his role as an officer of Defenders of the American Constitution, Christian Educational Association, and the National Economic Council, del Valle has had ties to a substantial number of other right-wing operations. Some of these, active in the 1950's, are now defunct. Thus, he was a trustee of

the Campaign for the 48 States (Sec 1 - ORG); was reportedly an advisor to Willis Carto's Liberty and Property (see Wilbur Baldinger, "Reading from the Right," Progressive, June, 1956); was an endorser of the Platform for Patriotic Americans (Sec 1 - ORG); and was active in the pro-McCarthy group, Ten Million Americans (see Forster and Epstein, Cross-Currents, pp. 156-60). Current organizations to which del Valle has, or had, ties include the following:

American Coalition of Patriotic Societies (Sec 1 - ORG) -- Del Valle was on the Advisory Committee, at least in 1962 when he presented testimony against U. S. purchase of U. N. bonds, speaking for the Coalition. (July, 1962 hearings, House Foreign Affairs Committee, pp. 269-72. Del Valle's organization, Defenders of the American Constitution, has been one of those "co-operating" with the Coalition.)

American Mercury -- Listed on the masthead as a contributor November, 1960 through October, 1962 (when the ownership changed). The only articles he appears to have contributed, however, were in June, 1957 and November, 1960, with the latter being excerpted from Task Force.

Catholic Freedom Foundation -- Endorsed 1961 statement warning that U. S. was in danger of falling into the "hands of the U.S.S.R. -- without a bomb dropped!"

Christian Crusade (Sec 4 - Special #11) -- Del Valle was reportedly listed as a member of Hargis's Advisory Board in the 1950's but not since (Anti-Defamation League, Facts, April, 1962)

Committee on Pan-American Policy (Sec 1 - ORG) -- Member, National Advisory Committee. (August, 1966 brochure)

Common Sense -- As noted earlier, del Valle contributed a piece to this anti-Semitic periodical as early as January, 1951. Other pieces under his by-line have also appeared in the publication from time to time since. Following publisher-editor Conde McGinley's death in 1963, del Valle contributed a eulogy which characterized him as "a patriot . . . fearlessly exposing the great satanic powers in whose grip the Republic is being bled to death." (Common Sense, July, 1963) Since 1966, del Valle has himself been President of the Christian Educational Association and thus one of the owners of the paper. (Ibid., January 1, 1967; see also ownership statement in issue of October 15, 1967.)

Congress of Freedom (Sec 1 - ORG) -- Listed as an Advisory Board member in 1955 but not after, del Valle was on the program at the 1961 and 1962 Congress of Freedom meetings. (Programs)

Constitution Party -- As noted earlier, del Valle served as Chairman of the Interim Committee for a New Party which, in 1956, joined its forces with the Constitution Party. In 1957 del Valle was one of the speakers at the San Francisco convention of the Constitution Party (Anti-Defamation League, Facts, June-July, 1957), and he has continued to be active in the Party, giving the keynote address at its 1964 convention in Houston. (Text reprinted in Task Force, August and September, 1964)

Liberty Lobby (Sec 1 - ORG) -- Listed as a member of the Board of Policy 1957 to 1961.

Maryland Petition Committee -- Del Valle has been a featured speaker before this state segregationist organization on at least two occasions, in 1955 (when he told them that "miscegenation is the aim of our enemies" -- Baltimore Sun 10/26/55), and in 1964 (when he called for action to "shed all our communist-induced race problems" --Task Force, February, 1964).

Military Order of the World Wars -- One of the numerous veterans and patriotic organizations cooperating with the Coalition of American Patriotic Societies (Sec 1 - ORG), the Military Order added del Valle to its membership in 1962. (January, 1962 Bulletin of Annapolis chapter)

National States Rights Party (Sec 1 - ORG) -- Del Valle was listed as an "Advisor" by the Maryland unit of this racist and openly anti-Semitic organization. (February, 1965 letterhead) The year before, an article under his by-line had appeared in the publication of the American States Rights Party, a faction which split off from NSRP. (The White American, September, 1964; there is no indication as to whether the piece was reprinted from elsewhere or written for the publication.)

New Patriot -- Del Valle is one of those listed on the Editorial Advisory Board of this "international quarterly" announced in 1966. The publication promises "a responsible but penetrating inquiry into every aspect of the Jewish Question." (March, 1966 brochure)

United States Day Committee -- Headed by Marque Q. Nelson, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, who is also active in Congress of Freedom, the Committee opposes celebration of United Nations Day. Del Valle is on the Advisory Committee. (August, 1966 letterhead)

We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG) -- Scheduled to speak at the 1967 meeting, del Valle was unable to attend because of surgery. (Free Enterprise, October, 1967) Through 1961, he was listed on the WTP Advisory Board, and until mid-1962 he was listed as a member of the Wake Up America Committee which sponsors the back page of Free Enterprise.

Viewpoint

Del Valle's views are as extreme as his affiliations. Thus, Mary Anne Raywid, in her book on the extremist critics of public education, notes that del Valle's response to a questionnaire indicated his agreement with all 23 of the criticisms about which she asked --ranging from "subversive textbooks" through "Godlessness in the schools" to "domination by anti-intellectuals." (The Ax Grinders, p. 18)

Similarly, del Valle says that American Negroes have three choices. "Accept the leadership of the paid agitators" and end, with everyone else, in the grip of "the clique of a World Government"; "emigrate to some country where he believes he will be better off"; or else remain "with the understanding of the realities of their position. There can be no integration . . . . The races must remain separate." (Task Force, November, 1966)

Of Birch Society leader Robert Welch, del Valle has said: "May God give us many like him, before this Christian Republic is lost to Godless socialism." (Ibid., March, 1962) Of the currently proposed treaties dealing with the Panama Canal, he has said: "We must . . . decide whether these treaties must be attributed to suicidal imbecility or cowardly treason." (Ibid., May, 1967) And of the United Nations he has said

> our government in Washington has become a mere transmission mechanism to transmit U. N. orders . . . .
> . . . . /This/ explains why the last four presidents, the congressional and Supreme Court majority, always favor the Communists and thus give evidence of United Nations control. (Insertion by Congressman Rarick in Congressional Record 5/4/67, p. A2204)

Even after the Korean War, del Valle was claiming that Red China couldn't survive if Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist forces attacked the mainland and the South Korean forces "marched north." "How long," he asked, "must our foreign policy be dictated by fear of paper giants?" (Letter, N. Y. Times 3/16/55) More recently he has outlined a five-point foreign policy:

> 1. Sever diplomatic relations with all communist governments.
>
> 2. Recognize governments in exile as the legitimate governments of the communist dominated countries.
>
> 3. Stop propping up the economy of communist countries with our Foreign Aid.
>
> 4. Clear the communists out of our government, our colleges and our courts.
>
> 5. Clear the communists out of Cuba, Panama and Santo Domingo. (Task Force, May, 1966)

And, in the last analysis at home, "when the enemy . . . makes ready to replace constitutional government with socialistic tyranny openly and quickly," del Valle urges

> The organization of a powerful, armed resistance force to defeat the aims of the usurpers and bring about a return of constitutional government. (Common Sense 10/1/61)

Like many of those on the anti-Semitic right and its fringes, del Valle sees a conspiracy behind the conspiracy and links this to the "money system." Thus, writing in mid-1957 for Right, he gave as his prescription for action: "Begin with the repeal of the FEDERAL RESERVE ACT, whereby our Congress surrendered unconstitutionally to a group of international bankers the control of our money. From there to the repeal of the equally unconstitutional Income Tax Law . . . ." (Right, June, 1957)

A more recent article outlines his view of the conspiracy:

> We know . . . that the Conspiracy is anti-White and anti-Christian, as well as anti-Constitution. Whatever clues we may need in addition will probably be found in the realm of finance . . . .
>
> We know . . . that the Council on Foreign Relations in our country, and its counterpart in others, are the "front" men of the Conspiracy, whether they know it or not. We know that the Conspiracy also has gained control of all news media . . . . /We/ may be certain that an inner group of the Conspiracy sets the policy . . . . And these must be found among the "Money Changers," the international bankers who control the wealth of the world. (Task Force, January, 1966)

If this is not sufficiently clear, del Valle refers frequently to "the Zionist international financial complex" (Ibid., January, 1962), and has made it even clearer by quoting from the fraudulent Protocols of the Elders of Zion (Ibid., June, 1961).

P. A. DEL VALLE

Facts About: KENT & PHOEBE COURTNEY, THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN, and CONSERVATIVE SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Significance: A complex of publications and political action centering in the Courtneys, who distribute an ultraconservative or reactionary line on many economic issues and are closely connected to the John Birch Society; the income tax repeal movement; We, the People! and other right-wing groups.

Who are the Courtneys?

Headquartered in New Orleans, the husband-and-wife team of Kent and Phoebe Courtney has been active in ultraconservative politics since 1954. Kent Courtney was born in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1918 but has lived in New Orleans since he was a child. He received a business administration degree from Tulane University in 1950 and claims to have taught there. Time magazine (12/18/62) lists him as a former Pan-American Airlines pilot. He has also worked as a public relations man. Active in the Americanism Committee of the American Legion, he once received a plaque from that group.

An unsuccessful candidate for the New Orleans City Council in 1954, he led and failed in a campaign to prevent Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University from lecturing at Louisiana State University in 1956. In 1960 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Louisiana governorship on a States Rights ticket pulling less than 3% of the total vote. (NY Times 4/20/60)

Since January 1955 he has been publisher (and his wife editor) of The Independent American (see below) and active in efforts to organize a new conservative political party. (NY Times 4/15/61 primary source of biographical data)

Of note is the Courtneys' agreement with John Birch Society leader Robert Welch's attack on former President Eisenhower, as indicated by their defense of Welch against all critics and by the following references from their own Independent American: "our surrender-obsessed president" (May-June 1960); "the Eisenhower Administration's accommodation to the current policies of the International Communist Conspiracy" (Feb.-March 1962); "Welch's documentation of the Communist-benefitting decisions and policies of Dwight D. Eisenhower . . . has always been accurate." (Ibid.)

The Courtneys have attacked racial bigotry of the type espoused by self-styled American Nazi, George Lincoln Rockwell, and by the National States Rights Party. (Independent American, June 1961) At the same time, Kent Courtney "has been active in the White Citizens Council" (NY Times 4/15/61) and the Courtneys oppose efforts to desegregate the public schools. They called the

Federal court order in New Orleans "unconstitutional" and have reprinted a piece by Medford Evans stating that integration is "impossible" and characterizing attempts to secure it as "one of the two chief Communist operations in the present phase of the struggle for the world." (Indep. Amer., Jan and June, 1961)

The Courtney operations fall into the two related fields of publishing and political action. In addition to The Independent American and their pamphlet series, Tax Fax, they have a "Radio Edition of The Independent American" currently broadcast by 30 stations in 15 states, mostly in the South (Indep. Amer., Apr.-May 1962). They have also written and published a book on the General Walker case, a political action Handbook and a Voting Index (see discussion of "Publications" below.) A new book, billed as an expose' of the Council on Foreign Relations and to be titled America's Unelected Rulers, is scheduled to appear later in 1962.

Their political activities have centered around a continuing attempt to form a new party and have included the organization of national and regional meetings with leading right-wing speakers. Highlights from recent years follow. (Indep. Amer. primary source on meetings. For further information on individual speakers, see Sec 2, GRI Directory.)

1959 — Courtney sponsored a 2-day meeting in Chicago (Oct. 23-24) which included a banquet with Robert Welch and William Buckley (of The National Review) as principal speakers and a "New Party Rally" with Tom Anderson, Bryton Barron, Medford Evans, J. Bracken Lee, David Molthrop, Revilo P. Oliver and Dan Smoot as leading participants. Kent Courtney announced their determination to "get on the ballot in a minimum of 26 states" and then to hold a formal convention the following year. (Denver Post 10/25/59) It is not known how many stemmed from Courtney efforts, but presidential electors for the Conservative, Constitution, Independent American, and States Rights parties were on the ballot in 1960 in a total of 7 states (New Jersey and Virginia, Texas and Washington, Michigan, and Louisiana and Tennessee, respectively. This does not include the National States Rights Party which ran electors in Alabama and Arkansas.)

1960 — Failing in his own bid for Louisiana's governorship, Kent Courtney announced a "Solid South Conference" which was held in Shreveport June 3 and 4. Speakers were Tom Anderson, Matt Cvetic, Medford Evans, David Molthrop, Robert Nesmith, Harold Poeschel, and Clayton Rand. The conference heard attacks on the income tax, foreign aid, "socialistic control of our farmers," and the "distorting" of news about integration problems in the Northern press, as well as charges (from Cvetic) of Communist infiltration of the churches. They formed a "citizens committee" to find an independent candidate for conservatives to back in the Fall. Mentioned by Courtney as "acceptable" were Senators Goldwater and Thurmond, Dean Clarence Manion, Tom Anderson and J. Bracken Lee,

Apparently in a last effort to "save" the Republican Party, Courtney suspended the search for an independent candidate to organize a "Goldwater for President" rally in Chicago on the eve of the GOP convention. Speakers, in addition to Robert Welch, included, Tom Anderson, Medford Evans, Harry Everingham (of We, the People!, a Chicago-based organization in which the Rev. Billy James Hargis has played a leading role), Dohn Lewis (aide to J. Bracken Lee), and a surprise appearance by former Senator William Jenner. Kent Courtney claimed over 25,000 signatures on a petition in support of Goldwater's nomination but, following the Senator's withdrawal of his candidacy, the Courtneys turned their efforts back to the movement for an independent candidate, urging Senator Strom Thurmond as the man "eminently qualified" since "Liberal Socialists are now in complete charge of the candidates and platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties." (Indep. Amer., Aug. 1960)

1961— Disillusionment with Goldwater was being evidenced by the Courtneys. Phoe Courtney wrote (Indep. Amer., Jan.-Feb. 1961) that he was "shifting" to a " 'middle-of-the-road' philosophy" and speculated on a possible deal with Rockefeller for the Vice-Presidential spot on the 1964 ticket. In April the Courtneys were back in Chicago with a "Convention of Conservatives," again billed as a "new party rally" and again (as in 1959) held in tandem with Willis Stone's National Committee for Economic Freedom (see below). Speakers included Tom Anderson, Bryton Barron, Medford Evans, Harry Everingham, Congressmen Edgar Hiestand and August Johansen, J. Bracken Lee, and David Molthrop.

The meeting was marked by Kent Courtney's public announcement that Senator Goldwater "has been tainted by Socialism" (particularly if he supported Rockefeller for re-election as N.Y. Governor) and by Rep. Hiestand's announcement that the third party proposed by Courtney would be "political suicide and a disaster for the Republic." (NY Times 4/15/61 and Des Moines Register 4/17/61) (In October, Kent Courtney was announced as a scheduled speaker at the National Indignation Convention in Dallas, Texas but subsequent newspaper stories do not indicate whethe he appeared. Dallas Times-Herald 10/17-18/61)

With Goldwater "tainted' and the third party still unformed, the Courtneys turned their attention to the formation of a new group, the Conservative Society of America and their choice for leadership shifted to General Edwin A. Walker (characterized b Phoebe Courtney as "one of the foremost leaders of the rising Conservative movement." Indep. Amer., Apr.-May 1962)

Conservative Society of America*

In lieu of the new party he had called for, Kent Courtney made the "Declaration of Conservative Principles," signed by himself and 17 others at the April 1961 meeting in Chicago, the basis for a "national political action organization to

* Unless otherwise indicated this section is based on information in materials distributed by CSA and/or The Independent American.

represent the Conservative viewpoint" and "to give the voter a choice between (a) Liberal-New Deal-Socialism and (b) Conservatism." Establishment of the Conservative Society of America was announced in July 1961 with Kent Courtney as National Chairman. CSA's structure includes local units and paid organizers on a state or regional basis. Financing is to be by membership dues of $20 a year for individuals or $30 for husband-and-wife "payable in advance."

"The sole purpose" of CSA is political action to support "Conservatives" already in Congress (Republican or Democrat) and "candidates to oppose Liberal and/or Socialist-voting Congressman regardless of party affiliation."

Its 15-point "Program of Action" includes:

- — breaking relations with all Communist governments
- — getting the U. S. out of the U. N. and vice-versa
- — breaking off Geneva negotiations on nuclear testing
- — "liberating Cuba from the Communists, by such means as may be required"
- — ending foreign aid "to nations which refuse to support the U. S. in the struggle against Communism" and wherever aid "amounts to a subsidy of competition against American labor and management"
- — ending "programs of intervention in agriculture"
- — eliminating "un-Constitutional and un-economic business and industrial operations of the Federal government"
- — protecting "the right to work"
- — repeal of the 16th Amendment (thus eliminating the income tax)
- — freeing the government "of infiltration by subversive agents"

It refers also to the "pro-Communist decisions" of the Supreme Court and to the need to "return our immigration regulations" to the "concept of preserving the American cultural heritage."

Local CSA units are furnished a "kit" including the CSA Voting Index, the Conservative Political Action Handbook and other materials, such as the Independent American and various Tax Fax and CSA pamphlets. Members are also to receive the "twice-a-month CSA Newsletter" (including political action bulletins) and occasional "Alert-O-Grams." (In April 1962 one A-O-G urged letters to French newspapers protesting the proposed "murder of two valorous French generals [Salan and Jouhad of the terrorist Secret Army] by Charles de Gaulle")

In April 1962 CSA hired Ward Poag of Nashville, a former Birch Society coordinator, as National Field Organizer. Poag has since made an organizing tour which took him to California, Arizona, Oklahoma and Arkansas. In the latter state CSA's support of Senator Fulbright's opponent was announced by Poag. (Arkansas Gazette 6/22 and 25/61) Kent Courtney joined Poag in Arizona and Oklahoma and announced CSA membership as totalling 1,500 in at least 47 states. (Daily Oklahoman 6/8/62)

The current CSA letterhead lists, in addition to Kent Courtney as National Chairman, the following 17 persons from 13 states and the District of Columbia:

Bryton Barron, Va.
Martin Boone, M.D., Texas
Curtis W. Caine, M.D., Miss.
Medford Evans, La.
John A. Glover, La.
Dan Hanson, Wyo.
George J. Hess, M.D., Ill.
Mrs. R. Hope Isbell, Ind.
J. Bracken Lee, Utah
Mrs. Milton J. Lent, Ga.
R. W. Orrell, Va.
Cecil E. Pitard, M.D., Tenn.
Harold Poeschel, N. J.
Frank X. Ranuzzi, Calif.
Mrs. Benjamin T. Rauber, N. J.
E. Merrill Root, Conn.
Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby, D.C.

While the letterhead doesn't specify the position of those listed, three (Lee, Root, and Willoughby) have been elsewhere cited by Kent Courtney as "among" the "number of outstanding Conservatives" making up CSA's National Advisory Board. Related activities of some of those listed follow (based on documentation in GRI files; see also Sec 2, GRI Directory):

Barron - former State Department employee and author of two books attacking the agency, Inside the State Department and The Untouchable State Department; former field representative, John Birch Society.

Evans - endorser, John Birch Society; former editor, Facts Forum; contributing editor, American Opinion; personal adviser to Gen. Walker during his testimony before the Stennis Subcommittee in 1962.

Hanson - endorser, John Birch Society; active in National Committee for Economic Freedom, income tax repealers.

Hess - endorser, John Birch Society.

Lee - endorser, John Birch Society; endorser, Manion Forum; member National Advisory Committee of Christian Crusade (headed by Billy James Hargis); member, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee; member, National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom.

Orrell - endorser, John Birch Society.

Root - endorser, John Birch Society; contributing editor, Human Events and National Review; member, National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom; was member, Board of Governors, National Council for American Education (headed by Allen Zoll).

Willoughby - former chief of intelligence for General MacArthur; endorser, John Birch Society; member, National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom; member, National Advisory Committee, Christian Crusade; member, Anti-Communism Liaison (committee set up at Hargis-called meeting in Washington, March 1962).

Ties With Other Groups

There is a substantial overlap between the Courtney operations and the John Birch Society. Both Courtneys have been reported as members of JBS (cf Fletcher Knebel in Look, 3/13/62), though they are not listed by the Society in its Committee of Endorsers. Robert Welch was a major speaker at both the October 1959 meeting and the Goldwater-for-President rally in 1960 and sent a telegram of good wishes to the April 1961 meeting. (Indep. Amer., Nov. 1959, Aug. 1960 and May 1961) While Welch is said to have repudiated the Courtney third-party effort of 1961 as "embarassing to us" and to have termed Kent Courtney a publicity seeker (Congressional Quarterly Fact Sheet, 2/1/62), the Courtneys have continued to laud Welch and defend him against critics. (See "Special Issue" of Indep. Amer., April 1961, devoted to a defense of Welch and the JBS; also Indep. Amer., Feb.-Mar. 1962, which attacks both Goldwater and William Buckley — who had appeared with Welch at the 1959 Courtney meeting — for turning against Welch.)

Kent Courtney stresses that the Conservative Society of America "will in no way be in competition with the John Birch Society." He states that the JBS is "educational" while the CSA, as a "political action" organization, "picks up where the JBS leaves off." (1962 letter)

As noted, nearly half of the persons listed on the CSA letterhead are endorsers of the John Birch Society. It is also of interest that a recent listing of speakers available through the JBS's "American Opinion Speakers Bureau" includes: Hilaire duBerrier, whose book has been published by CSA; Drs. Martin Boone and George Hess, both on the CSA letterhead; Clayton Rand, who has spoken at Courtney-organized meetings; and Willis E. Stone (see below).

Overlap with JBS is further reflected in the close ties between the Courtneys and Tom Anderson, publisher of Farm and Ranch and member of the National Council of the JBS. Anderson, who has announced his support of a variety of right-wing groups ranging from Americans for Constitutional Action to We, the People!, has been a regular feature of Courtney-organized meetings. He appeared at the October 1959 meeting, the "Solid South Conference," the Goldwater Rally, and the April 1961 meeting. As noted below, his column, "Straight Talk," has been a regular reprint item in The Independent American. Anderson has been named, along with Welch and J. Bracken Lee, as a suitable presidential candidate by Kent Courtney. (Indep. Amer., May 1961)

The Courtneys also appear to have close ties with Willis E. Stone and his campaign to repeal the income tax. In both 1959 and 1961 Stone's National Committee for Economic Freedom, publisher of American Progress magazine and the leading anti-income tax pressure group, held its convention in tandem with the Courtneys' Independent American Forum. (Indep. Amer., Nov. 1959 and May 1961) Stone's endorsement of the paper is one of three advertised by The Independent American in brochures and one of Stone's lieutenants, Dan Hanson, is on the CSA letterhead. Kent Courtney is himself State Chairman of Stone's NCEF in Louisiana (note also that Tom Anderson is a co-chairman in Tennessee).

Another and related tie is to We, the People! Harry Everingham, who is Executive Vice-President of that organization and editor of Free Enterprise (which is published by the Free Enterprise Federation located at the same Chicago address as We, The People!), played an important role at the Courtney-organized Goldwater rally of 1960 and spoke at the Courtneys' 1961 meeting. Willis Stone, in turn, has served as Secretary of We, the People! (The Rev. Billy James Hargis has been President of the group and has a front-page column in Free Enterprise.)

Finally, mention should be made of David Molthrop, leading figure in the so-called "right-to-work" movement. Molthrop was a featured speaker at the Courtneys' 1959 meeting, at the Solid South Conference, and at the April 1961 meeting.

Publications

A. The Independent American - A newspaper published "approximately every four to six weeks" (usually bi-monthly) since January 1955. (It is mailed under 3rd class postal rates which do not require publication or reporting of ownership and circulation data.) The subscription rate is $3 for 12 issues and the publisher is listed as Free Men Speak, Inc., New Orleans, La. The masthead lists Kent Courtney, President; Phoebe Greene Courtney, Editor; and Mary Helen Brengel, Assistant Editor. A brochure circulated to seek subscriptions contains endorsements of the paper by Clarence Manion, J. Bracken Lee and Willis E. Stone. Robert Welch has called it a publication that "can be depended on as being honestly anti-Communist." (JBS Bulletin, July 1961)

Dedicated "to the defeat of Socialist and Communist influences that now pervade the thinking and the policies of our Federal government and the two major political parties," The Independent American is made up of a combination of reprints and original material written by the Courtneys or Mary Brengel. Right-wing editorials are solicited from readers around the country and then reprinted along with columns and speeches (from the Congressional Record and elsewhere). Regulars in the column-reprint category have been Tom Anderson (from Farm and Ranch), Fulton Lewis, Jr. (syndicated column), J. Bracken Lee (from his American Statesman), and Thurman Sensing (Southern States Industrial Council Bulletin).

John T. Flynn and Clarence Manion broadcasts and material fromDan Smoot's reports also have often been used. A regular column on "What Conservatives Are Doing" is a useful source on right-wing activities.

Excerpts from various issues indicate the tone:

—"Nixon is a turncoat, plain and simple . . . . he sold out himself . . . and journeyed to Moscow for the Kremlin's endorsement of his candidacy . . . . He should have realized that he was no match for the power-mad Internationalists who control both the Democrat and the Republican parties" (Oct. 1959)

— "And so it has been, ever since the Socialist-Internationalist-Communists took over control of both the Democrat and Republican parties in 1933" (May-June 1960)

— "Will Khrushchev 'Nominate' Our Next President?" (Ibid.)

— "Rockefeller's 'Boys' Infiltrate Both Parties" (July 1960)

— "A Vote for Nixon Delays Conservative Take-Over of GOP" (Aug. 1960)

— "Tax-Free Foundations Infiltrate Education and Government to Promote Internationalism" (Jan. 1961)

— Eugene Burdick, co-author of The Ugly American, "mouthed the Communist party line by hinting that the film 'Operation Abolition' was a 'shabby trick' "(Feb.-Mar. 1961)

— "A real anti-Communist administration would cut off all relations with the Soviet Union . . . . It would stop the insane policy of cultural and economic interchange with the Communists or any other country which traded with our enemy, Communist Russia!" (June 1961)

— "Common Market Scheme Will Destroy US National Sovereignty" (Dec.-Jan. 1961-62)

— "Charles de Gaulle was either a friend or a tool of the Communists from the very beginning of his first dictatorship immediately following the war" (Apr.-May 1962)

—"Why the Liberals Fear General Walker" (Ibid.)

B. Tax Fax - A pamphlet series published by The Independent American and selling for 25¢ each (or less in bulk). Through May 1962 a total of 36 Tax Fax pamphlets had been issued and the Courtneys claim approximately 3 million distributed during the six years 1956 through 1961 (see "Acknowledgement" in CSA Voting Index). Sample titles:

— "Federal Aid Means Federal Control of Education"
— "Urban Renewal - A Socialist Scheme to Confiscate Private Property"
— "The Income Tax Can Be Repealed!"
— "Beware of World Court (Preserve the Connally Amendment)"
— "Kennedy: Profile of a Liberal-Socialist"
— "The United Nations - A Smokescreen for Communist Aggression"
— "Impeach Earl Warren? (A Documented Record of Chief Justice Earl Warren's Pro-Communist Rulings)"
— "Rockefeller Now Controls US Foreign Policy"
— "Communist Infiltration in Religion" /bibliography lists Circuit Riders, Edgar Bundy and Billy James Hargis/
— "Is Goldwater Really a Conservative?" /the Courtneys are doubtful/
— "Medicare: A Socialist Fraud"
— "Kennedy's Plan to Subsidize and Control US Business (Union with Common Market Will Result in a Socialist U.S.A.)"

C. The Case of General Edwin A. Walker - by Kent and Phoebe Courtney (New Orleans, Conservative Society of America, 1961), paperback, $2. Billed as "a documented expose," the book is built around the thesis (espoused by Edward Hunter and others) that the attack on anti-Communists typified by the Walker case is all in implementation of a Kremlin directive of December 1960. Thus, Overseas Weekly is portrayed as "originally" launching the attack on Walker in April 1961, although Walker had been advised by superior officers "against extending your activities into political and related controversial areas" on three prior occasions, August and October 1960 and March 1961. (See McNamara Testimony on S. Res. 191, Sept. 6 and 7, 1961.)

The Courtneys attack at length the memorandum prepared for Senator Fulbright who had raised questions about excessive activities of military personnel in the field of foreign policy and domestic politics. They quote with approval Senators Goldwater, Mundt and Thurmond, and close with an epilogue, "What You Can Do," urging readers to join the Conservative Society of America. As a footnote, Kent Courtney reportedly was amused by a Life editorial which termed the Walker book "silly" and replied: "That silly little book just bought me a new Ford station wagon." (Life 2/9/62)

D. The CSA Voting Index - Published by the Conservative Society of America in 1962, selling for $4.00 (or less in bulk order). Based on 1961 session of Congress, it rates members on their "conservative" versus "pro-Socialist" votes.

While Kent Courtney had called the Voting Index published by Americans for Constitutional Action a "priceless weapon" in July 1961 (Indep. Amer.), the CSA Index "disagrees" with the ACA Index in several instances, particularly on its rating of Republican leadership figures. For example, ACA gives Walter Judd an 80% rating while CSA rates him at 26%; GOP National Chairman William Miller gets a 90% rating from ACA, but only 67% from CSA; and Minority Leader Charles Halleck was rated at 86% by ACA, but only 32% by CSA. (Formore detailed analysis of the CSA and other voting records, see GRI Special Report, "Voting Records")

E. The Conservative Political Action Handbook - Published by the Conservative Society of America in 1962 and selling for $2.00 (or less in bulk orders). In the form of a loose-leaf notebook "to which additional pages may be added from time to time," the Handbook tells " What you can do to defeat liberal Congressmen who are voting us into Socialism." Chapter headings include: "How to organize a political action group"; "How to hold a meeting"; "How to obtain publicity"; "How to write effective letters to Congress"; "How to write letters to the editors of newspapers"; and "A selected compilation of famous quotations." Together with the CSA Voting Index, the Handbook is billed as "a 'do-it-yourself' kit for Conservatives."

F. Labor's International Network by Hilaire du Berrier (New Orleans, Conservative Society of America, 1962, paperback 50¢). According to the preface, du Berrier was born in North Dakota in 1906 but went abroad in 1931 and has largely remained abroad since, currently headquartering in Paris. He is said to have served in the Spanish Loyalist Air Force for 6 weeks gathering material "disclosing Russian direction of the Spanish Civil War," later to have been caught in Shanghai when the Japanese occupied it and to have served in a "French Resistance Group," been captured by the Japanese and then, following V-J Day, to have served as a civilian Specialist with the OSS for an unspecified period. He is listed as "presently acting as foreign correspondent" for the John Birch Society magazine, American Opinion, as well as for The Independent American and the CSA, and as writing a monthly newsletter, "H. du B. Reports", published in Huntington, Indiana.

Labor's International Network is subtitled "How U.S. Labor Bosses Use Union Dues to Finance Socialist Revolts Abroad." It begins with the thesis that one "must get it out of his head, once and for all, that America is a two-party country. American unions are a Socialist Party and the Socialist Party is international." It ends by saying "This is the story of Labor diplomacy in action. Every loss of Western position since World War II has been caused or hastened by it. Thus it is seen that . . . a portion of the union dues paid by each of the 13,500,000 members of the AFL-CIO has been used to finance activities that carry out the aims of International Communism . . . . The final goal of such activities is an America, stripped of all friends overseas, and ripe for take-over by the Labor-Socialist-Internationalists who would then be able to establish the Socialist World Government for which they have so long planned." In between it attributes

to the activities of Irving Brown, Jay Lovestone, George Meany and Walter Reuther, together with the International Labor Organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the U.N., virtually every instance of anti-colonialism and nationalism in Africa and elsewhere. The formula is said to be: form phony labor unions, get them to agitate for independence, then take over the government through political action, creating such chaos in the process that the country falls easy prey to Communism.

Du Berrier regards: Arthur Goldberg, Henry Cabot Lodge and his son, George, the State Department and the C.I.A. as accomplices. In a "Publisher's Epilogue" the Courtneys state that "the revolutionary activities of the AFL-CIO have been condoned, and in some cases furthered, by both the Republican and the Democrat parties" and urges the reader to "protest the Communist-appeasing policies of the State Department" by supporting an investigation of that agency.

Finances

Financing of the Courtneys' activities appears to come from the sale of publications and from donations, as well as from CSA membership dues. In their New Orleans headquarters they have a staff of fifteen persons located in two buildings. (Look 3/13/62) Although an earlier report (Ibid.) stated that CSA was "suddenly prospering" and that "A recent appeal for funds brought in so many checks ranging in size from $100 to $2,500 that they crammed a large box, in addition to a shower of smaller donations," the Courtneys are currently pleading desperate financial straits. At least two appeals for funds have gone out in as many months with the most recent (dated June 22, 1962) reporting that "current and past due bills now total $12,543," and referring to the "meagre response" to the previous appeal.

No doubt, as the Courtneys indicate, their current financial problems are due in large part to increased activities, centering around the CSA. They have said that their total income in 1960 was $133,000 and that the 1961 figure would be about $180,000. (Life 2/9/62) It seems reasonable to assume that the 1962 figure will show a further substantial increase and that the Courtneys' operations (which reportedly began in 1954 with only $18 in capital -- see Time 12/18/61) are well on their way to a magnitude of a quarter-of-a-million dollars a year.

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328 Pennsylvania, Ave., S.E.
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Sec 2 - IND
7/9/62

Du BERRIER, HILAIRE
Hotel Lutetia
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Paris 6, France

Author of Labor's International Network, published by Conservative Society of America, New Orleans, 1962. (See GRI, Special Report, "Kent and Phoebe Courtney," 6/30/62)

Writes monthly newsletter, "H. du B. Reports," which is edited and published by James H. Ball, P. O. Box 855, Huntington, Indiana; subscription rate $10 a year.

Preface to Labor's International Network lists du Berrier as foreign correspondent for American Opinion, The Independent American and the Conservative Society of America. Material distributed by H. du B. Reports lists him as foreign correspondent for Merwin K. Hart's Economic Council Letter and for the Anti-Communist League of America, Inc. He has also written for Freeman magazine.

Listed as speaker available through the John Birch Society's "American Opinion Speakers Bureau." (June 1962 brochure)

Biographical data: Born in Flasher, North Dakota in 1906; went abroad in 1931 and appears to have largely remained abroad since. Served for six weeks as pilot in Loyalist Air Force during Spanish Civil War to collect material for articles "disclosing Russian direction of the Spanish Civil War." Worked for Chinese Nationalists later in 1930s; caught in Shanghai by Japanese occupation; served in a "French Resistance Group" captured by Japanese; served with OSS for unspecified period following VJ Day. (Source: H. du B. Reports letter, July 1962)

(Group Research, Inc.)

FACT FINDER, THE
111 N. Wabash Avenue, Chicago

A small, 4-page publication edited and written by Harry T. Everingham, referred to as "releases" by Free Enterprise, which is also edited by Everingham. In 1962 The Fact Finder was claiming to be in its "20th Year of Publication." It carries membership application forms for We, The People! and is claimed by that organization, of which Everingham is the founder and executive officer, as one of its publications. (Free Enterprise, Jan. 1962)

Each issue tends to deal with one subject so that, in effect, it constitutes a pamphlet. Sample of content: "Take Christ Out of Christmas for Children?" and "Shall a Red Front Run Our Public Schools" (a late 1960 issue attacking the American Civil Liberties Union for objecting to religious celebrations in public schools); "Will U.S. Disarm for Appeasement?" and "Who Directs the President?" (a 1962 issue attacking the Kennedy Administration's foreign policy as "soft"); "How Red is the ADA?" and "How Anti-Communist is Kennedy?" (another 1962 issue which attacks ADA as "dedicated to the destruction of our American free enterprise system" and expresses grave doubts about the President's attitude toward Communism).

FREE ENTERPRISE, "Action News for The American Patriot"

Publisher, Free Enterprise Federation, 111 N. Wabash Avenue, Chicago 2
Editor, Harry T. Everingham

Address the same as that of Fact Finder and We, The People! "Members of We, The People! bring economic and political truth to their community through the FREE ENTERPRISE newspaper . . . " (January 1962 issue)

Contents: Regular features are a column, "For and Against," by Rev. Billy James Hargis; "Capitol Hill Quotes," selected expressions of patriotism and conservatism from government leaders; and "Patriots in Action," reports and praise in letters from the grass roots. During the first half of 1962, also contained printed material from Christian Economics, as well as remarks by Ronald Reagan, Robert Morris, Cong. James Utt (R-Calif.), Dr. Fred Schwarz, Cong. E. Y. Berry (R-S.D.), Jessica Payne and Willis E. Stone.

THE FINANCES OF THE RIGHT WING

A Study of the Size and Sources of Income of 30 Selected Operations

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A chronic complaint of those who study and report on the American right-wing is the lack of reliable information on size and finances -- on membership and on sources and uses of funds. This situation is not unusual in politics and semi-politics, although the evident philosophy of such laws as the Corrupt Practices Act and the Lobbying Act is that the public has a right to know who it is that is attempting to influence public policy and how much they are spending to do so.

Despite this apparent purpose, the reporting requirements of such laws leave something to be desired. Requirements tend to be interpreted rather narrowly and loopholes are not uncommon relative to items reported.

When we move into the "gray" area of indirect influences on policy -- where one man's "education" is another man's "propaganda" -- the lack of data increases. This is particularly true of information on where the money comes from. However, as much information as possible has been drawn together in this report on a substantial selection of major operations, and covering a period of several years. The purpose is to provide facts about the specific organizations involved, but also to furnish indications as to the major characteristics and tendencies of the right-wing in general.

Sources

In preparing this study a variety of sources have been utilized.

First, a surprising number of the organizations studied have exempt status under the Internal Revenue Code.

Section 501 (c)(3) of the Code lists, as among organizations which are exempt from taxation, those "organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational purposes . . . no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, and which does not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office." Section 170(c)(2) uses almost identical language in defining organizations, contributions to which may be deducted from taxable income by individual and corporate taxpayers.

Such organizations -- usually referred to as "exempt organizations" but more accurately characterized as "tax-exempt" and "tax-deductible" organizations -- number in the thousands. The Cumulative List published by the Internal Revenue Service exceeds 350 pages in length.

This substantive privilege of tax exemption and deductibility carries with it a procedural responsibility: namely, the filing with the Internal Revenue Service of annual informational returns, portions of which are available for public inspection. It should be noted that the privilege and the responsibility are not invariably coupled. Rev. Carl McIntire has tax-exempt status for Christian Beacon, which technically sponsors his daily radio program, as well as for the American Council of Christian Churches, in which he plays a leading role as arch-critic of the National Council of Churches. In both instances, however, McIntire claims that he does not have to file informational returns, since the requirement is waived for "religious organizations" by Section 6033 (a) (1). Rev. Billy James Hargis and his Christian Crusade, on the other hand, file the returns.

Second, those few organizations which freely admit being political action groups file regular reports with the House of Representatives under the Corrupt Practices Act. These reports cover major contributors as well as total income and expenditure. Some other organizations, chiefly pressure groups, register under the Lobbying Act, and file quarterly reports with both the House and the Senate. In this category, the reports tend to be incomplete, relating only to what the reporting organization regards as direct expenditures for "lobbying," but they frequently provide a basis for reasonably reliable estimates.

Third, some states require that any organization which solicits financial contributions from the public must file informational returns with the state. Though primarily designed to cover charitable and philanthropic fund solicitations, such laws may affect organizations on the political scene. Thus, in Massachusetts, the John Birch Society is required to file such reports; and New York has a similar law which affects some of the organizations with headquarters in that state.

Fourth, organizations may release information on finances in their own publications or in statements to the press. While not as helpful as regular reports, such fragmentary data can sometimes be combined with other facts, such as circulation figures, to provide useful estimates of the totals involved. (Appendix A sets forth the specific sources and the methods of adjustment and estimation utilized in this report.)

Scope

There are hundreds of organizations making up the American right-wing. The 1962 edition of the First National Directory of "Rightist" Groups, Publications and Some Individuals -- compiled "for and by right wingers" -- carried nearly 2,000 listings and the 1963 Supplement added another 1,000. These figures must be drastically discounted in view of the large number of multiple listings, mere local units, "paper" organizations, and those whose status as "rightist" would be extremely hard to justify. However, the number of operations which are actually in existence, and at least aspiring to some sort of national status, still must be counted in the hundreds. Consequently, arbitrary judgement is sometimes required in the selection of those to be included in any study such as this.

A second important aspect of this selection is the variety which characterizes the American right-wing. It is a basic premise of this study that this variety is as significant as the similarities that underlie the whole. The American right-wing is not monolithic, but constitutes a spectrum -- wide of range, including both "responsible" and "irresponsible" elements, but at the same time inter-linked at various points along the spectrum in terms of interests, ideology and personnel. Making clear, yet meaningful, distinctions between categories of the right-wing is a perennial difficulty. See, for example, the article by three Wellesley College faculty members, "Responsible and Irresponsible Right-Wing Groups: A Problem in Analysis," Journal of Social Issues, April, 1963. B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League has referred aptly to "the ideological blur" between some key groups.

The selection of operations to be covered by the study had two major guidelines: First, to secure a representative variety in terms of method of operation, focus of interest, extremity of views, and general role in the broad spectrum; and second, to include as many as possible of those organizations genuinely considered to be important. The availability of financial information naturally was a limiting factor, but this operated primarily at a later stage, requiring the dropping of organizations which it had originally been thought would be included. By far the most serious of such omissions is the leading income tax-repeal organization, the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., on which there just wasn't enough information even to make estimates possible. That this is a major gap is indicated by the fact that the Liberty Amendment Committee was discussing a $300,000 annual budget in promotional material sent out last year. Others dropped from the list for the same reason included We, The People!, a Chicago-based operation that sponsors annual conferences of leading right-wing figures; and Young Americans for Freedom, which grew directly out of the 1960 Youth-for-Goldwater movement and which played an important role in the Senator's successful drive for the nomination.

In the end, some thirty operations were included in the study and an examination of the list on page 5 underlines the fact that neither comprehensiveness nor homogeneity was attainable.

Included, at one extreme, are the out-and-out bigots, such as Gerald L. K. Smith and the late Conde McGinley's Common Sense, as well as the segregationist Citizens' Councils of America. On the other hand, it also includes such conventional organizations as the American Economic Foundation, the Foundation for Economic Education, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, which focus largely on extreme laissez-faire economics but also give substantial attention to its implications in terms of domestic issues.

In a similar category, but with the addition of "hard-line" foreign policy views, would be William Buckley's National Review, while concentrating on the "hard-line" aspect would be the various committees organized by Buckley's close associate, Marvin Liebman, and an organization like the American Security Council.

In still another category, serving as some sort of a "cheering section" for various rightists is Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. Both of these latter-named resist the adjective "right-wing" as does Fred Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, but all three have generally been considered a part of the scene. (See, for example, Richard Dudman, Men of the Far Right; Mark Sherwin, The Extremists; and Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, The Far Right) Perhaps more representative of the popular concept is the John Birch Society and the groups run by some of its leaders, such as Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade, the Manion Forum, the operations of Kent and Phoebe Courtney, Liberty Lobby, and the Citizens' Foreign Aid Committee-For America combine directed by Gen. Bonner Fellers. Still another general grouping would be those characterized by one author as "Apostles of Discord:" Edgar Bundy's Church League of America, Howard Kershner's Christian Freedom Foundation, Myers Lowman's Circuit Riders, and Rev. Carl McIntire's 20th Century Reformation Hour.

These, and the various others included, are linked basically by the fact that on economic and political issues they are significantly to the right of center. In addition, as indicated earlier, there tend to be at various points along the spectrum overlapping personnel, support, interests and issues.

It must be emphasized again, however, that the various operations considered in this study are not in any sense equatable, but reflect instead an effort to convey a broad picture of the right-wing in America. Brief identifying comments are furnished in Appendix B for all of the organizations included in the study.

It should also be stressed that there is no intention of implying that the operations covered in this study are "the top thirty right-wing operations." There are several other operations whose known size would rank them as larger than some of those included. As has been indicated, these were selected to include as many of the largest operations as possible, but lack of data forced the exclusion of some. Similarly, the desire to have a representative variety led to exclusion of some operations that were similar to others in favor of perhaps-smaller operations that were significantly different. Finally, it is not the contention of this report that budget size is the best measure of total impact. Thus, while the John Birch Society would not appear to be the largest in terms of finances, its relatively narrow focus -- without the dilution of fundamentalist religion, for example -- may well mean that it has more direct impact than any other operation covered. When indirect effects are considered, the budget size becomes even less reliable as a measure of impact.

The Top Ten, 1958-62

Summary information on income is given in Table 1 for all 30 selected operations, covering the years 1958-62 and totaling more than $12 million in the last year. These operations are listed in Table 1 in order of their size in the final year. A comparison of the rankings of the top ten for the three years 1958, 1960 and 1962 is interesting both in terms of stability and change. (See Appendix C for comparative listings.)

First, within the ranks of the largest operations there has been a good deal of stability. Six of them appear in the top ten in all three years: Hargis's Christian Crusade, the Foundation for Economic Education, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Human Events, Manion Forum, and National Review. Three more of 1962's top ten had been in that category in 1960. Only the John Birch Society made its first appearance in the leading group in 1962, reflecting a more rapid relative growth than any of the others.

This points up the fact that change has also characterized the rankings. Two of the three leaders in 1962 had not been in the ranks of the top ten in 1958, nor of the top five in 1960. Their top ranking positions in 1962 may be regarded as reflecting increased affluence on the American right, and a sharp rise in the use of radio and television to carry its message. It should also be noted, however, that both of these organizations tend to put their highly conservative commentary on current issues in the context of fundamentalist religious tenets.

It would also appear fair to say that the "voices" at the top of the list tend to be more strident in 1962 than was the case in 1958. Of the top five in the earlier year, two were primarily of the laissez-faire economics category and another was the primarily-patriotic Freedoms Foundation. By 1962 all three of these had dropped from the top five, as had the less strident of the two publications that had so ranked in 1958. Replacing them, in addition to the radio programs of Carl McIntire and Life Line, were the John Birch Society and Billy James Hargis. The "progress" of the Foundation for Economic Education from 1st place to 4th to 10th is perhaps symbolic of the trend over the five-year period.

The Growth Pattern

Total income accounted for by the 30 operations studied increased by 150% over the 5-year period -- from $4.9 million in 1958 to $12.2 million in 1962. Figures for three earlier years were available for 20 of the 30 operations covered by the study. The data are presented in Table 2, with the listing in order of 1956 size. In addition, 1963 figures for 15 of the 30 are presented in Table 3. If it is assumed that these two groups are roughly representative of the full thirty (in terms of growth pattern), totals can be projected for the larger group to furnish a growth pattern over the 9-year period 1955-1963.

These annual totals, in millions of dollars and with the

percentage increase over the previous year shown in parentheses, are as follows:

1955 - $ 3.0 million
1956 - $ 3.4 million (15%)
1957 - $ 4.1 million (22%)
1958 - $ 4.9 million (19%)
1959 - $ 5.8 million (18%)
1960 - $ 7.6 million (31%)
1961 - $10.8 million (42%)
1962 - $12.2 million (13%)
1963 - $14.3 million (17%)

The pattern, then, is of relatively steady growth in the late 1950's, followed by an unusual surge in the years 1960-61, and a return to the earlier trend in 1962 and 1963. This is presented in graphic form in Chart 1 below, together with a simple trend line fitted to the data for the period. If a projection to 1964 is made on the basis of the average growth-rate, indicated by the trend line, the total for this year will be almost $16 million. Such a simple projection, however, is made extremely dubious by the fact that this is an election year and that one of the Presidential candidates has long been a major hero to the American right.

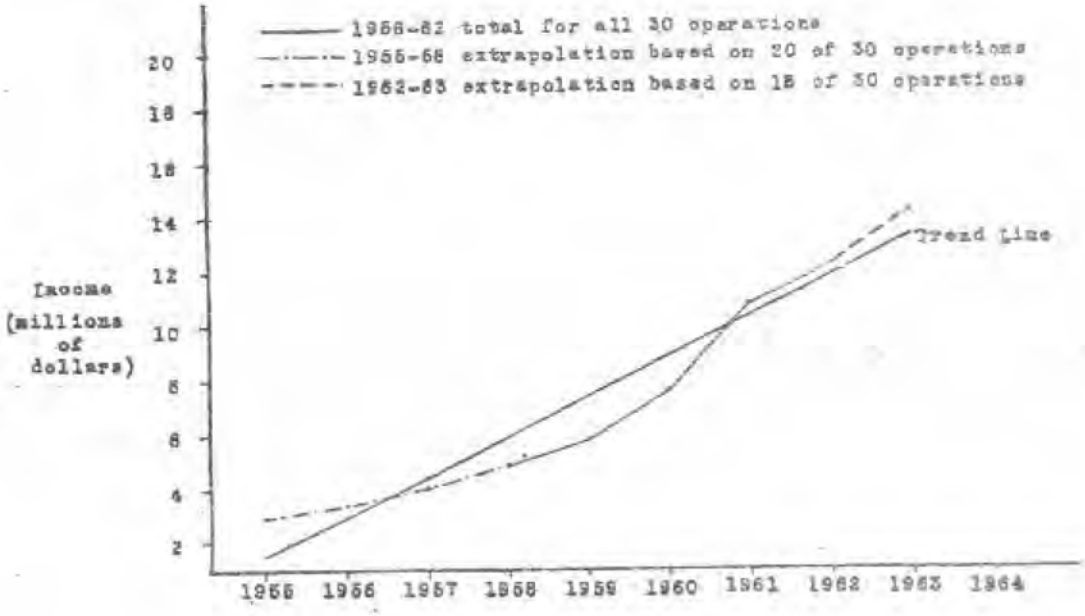

CHART 1

Total Income, 1955-63, Thirty Selected Operations

The Internal Pattern

Expenditure as well as income figures were available for 19 of 30 operations covered by the study. Almost all of these showed deficits in at least one year during the period, meaning that gross expenditures exceeded gross income, including contributions; but most of these had total income above their expenses for the period as a whole. A notable exception is the John Birch Society, in which expenses have exceeded income in every year but one (1962), and which reported a cumulative deficit of almost $211 thousand at the end of 1963.

Again, if the 19 for which both income and outgo figures are available are regarded as representative, it would appear that the 30 organizations as a whole took in more than they spent in all of the 5 years covered in Table 1 except 1959. Eleven of the nineteen showed a deficit that year, and a projected composite figure for the full 30 operations would still show a very small deficit (about $150).

In view of the variety of operations covered in Table 1 there is little to be learned from groupings of figures. It is probably significant, however, that breakdowns on sources of income which cover more than one-third of the totals indicate a decreasing reliance on contributions. Thus, in 1958 contributions made up about 88% of income for those organizations where a breakdown was available, while in 1962 they had dropped to about 73%. Income from sale of materials was shown as rising over the same period (from less than 9% to more than 21%). The exact percentage figures are debatable but the trend indicated is worth noting. On the expenditure side about the only generalization which can be validly drawn from the partial breakdowns available is that payroll costs amount to roughly a third of total expenditures.

TABLE 1

ANNUAL INCOME OF THIRTY SELECTED OPERATIONS, 1958-1962
(thousands of dollars)

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
"TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR" (Carl McIntire)[a]	62.0	177.5	382.5	635.5	1,163.0
HUMAN EVENTS[a]	329.1	390.4	594.6	918.5	1,005.9
LIFE LINE[a, b]	50.2	295.4	439.9	606.5	994.3
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY	--	129.8	198.7	595.9	826.1
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE (Billy James Hargis)	275.3	373.2	595.5	817.2	775.4
CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE (Dr. Fred Schwarz)	104.9	207.7	366.5	1,209.0	725.5
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE[b]	327.5	333.4	633.3	817.3	706.2
NATIONAL REVIEW[a]	390.0	287.0	370.0	563.0	704.0
MANION FORUM[a]	305.6	385.3	405.0	472.5	600.0
FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION[b]	489.2	479.6	495.8	476.7	562.4
AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION[b]	320.0	443.5	481.3	562.2	538.3
DAN SMOOT[a]	186.0	206.0	242.0	320.0	384.0
CHRISTIAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION (Howard Kershner)	478.9	214.7	253.4	303.4	330.9
AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL[a]	90.0	116.0	179.0	213.0	256.0
AMERICA'S FUTURE[a]	247.9	224.4	225.1	240.5	256.0
NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM (Harding College)[b]	151.3	182.1	232.9	293.4	240.7
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE (Gerald L. K. Smith)	172.7	168.7	181.9	210.7	229.1
COURTNEY "COMPLEX"[a, c]	20.0	35.0	133.0	150.0	225.0
INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIETY OF INDIVIDUALISTS[a, b]	91.6	97.4	100.2	161.6	200.6
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	49.9	50.2	78.2	196.0	200.4
CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA[a]	200.0	192.0	186.0	184.0	200.0
LIEBMAN "COMPLEX"[a, b, d]	113.8	114.5	130.7	172.0	196.2
FREEDOM SCHOOL[a, b]	38.4	69.5	78.6	92.0	195.7
COMMON SENSE[a]	146.0	156.0	168.0	179.0	182.0
AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION	5.7	197.7	126.8	61.2	145.7
CIRCUIT RIDERS[a, b]	65.4	71.0	85.3	82.4	86.0
NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL[a]	89.8	89.1	84.4	83.4	83.7
D.A.R., NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE[b]	47.4	47.7	49.4	68.6	64.5
CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE/FOR AMERICA[b, c]	37.5	40.9	49.7	60.1	62.5
LIBERTY LOBBY[a]	20.0	30.0	40.0	50.2	58.7
TOTAL - All Thirty Operations	4,906.1	5,805.7	7,587.7	10,795.7	12,198.6

(See reverse for notes)

TABLE 1 - cont'd

Source: See Appendix A for sources of data and methods of estimation utilized.

Wherever possible, total income figures have been utilized; in a few instances estimated figures for total expenditures had to be substituted.

[a] Estimated in whole or in part. See Appendix A for specific methodology in each case.

[b] Adjusted from fiscal year to calendar year.

[c] The Independent American and related activities of Kent and Phoebe Courtney.

[d] Consists of American-Asian Educational Exchange, American Jewish League Against Communism, and Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations throughout; plus American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters and Committee for the Monroe Doctrine in 1962. Marvin Liebman plays a key organizational role in all of these.

[e] Combined because they have operated jointly in recent years, under the direction of Gen. Bonner Fellers.

TABLE 2

ANNUAL INCOME OF TWENTY SELECTED OPERATIONS
1955-1957

(thousands of dollars)

	1955	1956	1957
FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION	$ 553.6	$ 471.5	$ 476.7
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE	399.8	463.7	413.1
AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION	350.8	307.4	296.8
AMERICA'S FUTURE	220.0	238.7	244.8
HUMAN EVENTS	151.6	237.9	301.9
CHRISTIAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION	262.0	166.7	357.7
NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM	154.6	154.5	141.6
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE	165.3	151.7	168.2
MANION FORUM	90.0	149.9	245.6
NATIONAL REVIEW	10.0	142.0	190.0
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE	48.4	124.1	170.7
CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA	---	104.0	184.0
CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE	41.1	57.8	39.4
CIRCUIT RIDERS	33.4	49.7	70.9
INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIETY OF INDIVIDUALISTS	29.8	43.7	72.1
D. A. R., NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE	42.8	41.4	44.1
DAN SMOOT	11.4	39.0	132.0
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	21.8	29.4	38.9
TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR	25.8	25.0	38.5
FREEDOM SCHOOL	---	---	19.7
TOTAL - All 20 Operations	$ 2,612.0	$ 2,998.1	$ 3,646.8
PROJECTED TOTAL - 30 Operations	$ 2,957.0	$ 3,393.8	$ 4,128.1

Notes: All Notes applicable to Table 1 apply also to this table.

TABLE 3

ANNUAL INCOME OF FIFTEEN SELECTED OPERATIONS
1963

(thousands of dollars)

TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR	$ 1,718.0
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY	1,092.3
LIFE LINE	1,088.0
AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION	953.1
HUMAN EVENTS	927.5
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE	711.8
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE	677.2
DAN SMOOT	455.0
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE	288.7
COURTNEY "COMPLEX"	281.0
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	235.1
COMMON SENSE	160.0
AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION	84.9
CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE/FOR AMERICA	72.3
LIBERTY LOBBY	60.5
Total - All 15 operations	$ 8,805.4
Projected total - 30 operations	$14,328.7

Notes: All notes applicable to Table 1 apply to this table also.

The Question of Subsidy

The financial data available indicate that a very large part of right-wing activities receives indirect subsidy from the government. No less than 17 of the organizations represented in this report have tax-exempt status under Federal law. This means that persons contributing to these organizations may deduct the amount of their support from their taxable income. The rest of the taxpayers in the nation are paying increased taxes and thus indirectly supporting these tax-exempt organizations, whether they want to or not. The 17 organizations falling into this category accounted for $6.6 million of the $12.2 million total for 1962 -- or more than half.

In addition, however, it should be remembered that sponsorship of radio and television programs like Life Line, the Manion Forum and Dan Smoot can be charged off to advertising by business firms and again represents an item which is deductible from taxable income. The same is true of advertising purchased in publications such as American Opinion, Human Events and National Review. This category accounts for at least another $962,000 of the 1962 figure.

The two categories together make up 62% of the total, and this does not necessarily exhaust the possibilities for tax exemption. For example, purchases of gift subscriptions to magazines or newsletters to be sent to tax-exempt institutions, such as colleges or public libraries, might be claimed as gifts to the institutions and therefore become a deductible expenditure. Similarly, business firms are likely to regard their membership in the American Security Council as a business cost (possibly carried as "research services" or as "personnel selection expense"). Other business firms may well justify some part of their expenditures (for newsletters and other publications, for example) on various operations as a business cost.

In short, while it is impossible to know how much of the income going to these 30 operations actually is claimed as a tax-deductible item, it is clear that as much as two-thirds of the total could be claimed.

Major Financial Sources: The Data

As has already been indicated, information on who puts up the money for the right-wing is fragmentary at best. In the case of reports filed under the Lobbying and Corrupt Practices Acts, all contributors of more-than-a-certain-amount are to be reported. However, it is clear that many reporting organizations interpret this to refer to individual contributions or to amounts within one quarter. Thus, an individual or firm could contribute, say $475 each quarter, to a lobbying organization, for a total of $1,900, and not be reported; while one giving a third of that in one lump would be. Consequently, these reports do not necessarily reflect the biggest contributors.

In the case of the numerous tax-exempt organizations involved, the identity of individual contributors is not required to be shown on the publicly-available portion of their annual informational returns. An indirect source of data for these, however, are the returns of philanthropic trusts, since the latter more often list the specific recipients of their grants on the publicly available portion of their returns. But, this is a case of perhaps being able to find amounts contributed if you already can make a good guess as to what contributors to check, and if the publicly available portion of their returns does indeed give a detailed listing of grant recipients. While it has been by far the most productive source of the data presented below, it remains fragmentary and partial. And, it applies to only one major source of funds -- the tax-exempt philanthropic trust as a supporter of the tax-exempt "educational" or "religious" organization.

In short, in only a few cases can we be sure of ourselves in saying who the largest single contributor to a specific organization is. It is simply impossible to do a comprehensive and orderly survey of any group of operations and arrive at a certain conclusion as to who is the largest single supporter in the picture.

This lengthy caveat is by way of characterizing what follows as a partial look at some important sources of finances for the operations studied and a consequent indication of the identity of some of the leading financial supporters of the American right.

Major Financial Sources: The Kinds

Financial support of the right-wing takes a variety of forms. Most of these have already been alluded to. For business firms it may be in the form of advertising (in publications or by sponsorship of radio-television programs); it may be in the form of contributions to a tax-exempt operation (either directly or through the firm's philanthropic trust -- and virtually every firm seems to have one); it may be through the firm's own "Americanism" program (Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association, of Los Angeles, which operates a Free Enterprise Bureau budgeted at a quarter of a million dollars annually, is an example); or it may be through purchase and distribution of materials produced by the right.

For individuals, the pattern is basically the same. Contributions remain the largest single source of funds to the right-wing; and wealthy individuals, like corporations, seem generally to have a philanthropic trust to utilize in channeling funds to favored "educational" efforts. In this regard, it must be stressed that most of the grants disbursed by these philanthropic trusts go to standard charities and philanthropies with which few, if any, could quarrel. At the same time, however, these trusts and foundations serve as channels for funds to operations of the kind covered by this study.

A final point that needs to be made is that while large contributors are of key importance, this is not a case of a few businessmen and/or Texas oilmen completely underwriting the right-wing in America. Such information as is available indicates that operations like Hargis' Christian Crusade and McIntire's 20th Century Reformation Hour have very broadly based support. This is doubtless true of most other operations covered in this study. (A striking exception would be the Christian Freedom Foundation of Howard Kershner. Data covering four years showed that J. Howard Pew and his Freedom Trust accounted for more than three-fourths of all income during the period.) It should be remembered that in political operations, the importance of the large contribution is that it affords a sort of assured "floor" or operating base. It seems likely that such is generally their role on the right-wing as well.

Interlocking Support

Among the threads which tie together the variegated fabric of the right-wing is that of common financial support. A substantial number of important contributors give to a number of the operations dealt with in this study -- and in some instances they are strikingly dissimilar in character. Table 4 presents some of the evidence on this point, noting the support furnished by some 20 financial sources to 20 of the operations covered in this study. In virtually all instances, individual contributors have been combined with their business firm and/or philanthropic trust or foundation as appropriate.

The details underlying Table 4 are set forth below:

Barber-Colman Co., of Rockford, Ill. -- a machine tool firm which advertises in National Review. A listing of grants by the Barber-Colman Foundation is available for 1960 and 1961. It includes American Economic Foundation ($4,000), America's Future ($2,000), Foundation for Economic Education ($10,000), Freedom School ($2,000) and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($1,600). Another recipient was the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, which disbursed most of its fund for gift subscriptions to Human Events. (Note also that the late Duncan Stewart, President of Barber-Colman, was listed by Human Events as on its "charter subscription list.")

✓Harry L. Bradley, Chairman of the Board, Allen-Bradley Co., of Milwaukee -- Mr. Bradley is listed by the Manion Forum as among its sponsors (listings of 1957 through 1962), by Human Events as a charter subscriber, and by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists as having given it $5,000 in one year. His firm advertises in American Opinion and in National Review, and Dr. Fred Schwarz is reported to have named it as contributing $10,000 annually to his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (Janson and Eismann, The Far Right, McGraw-Hill, 1963, p. 66). The National Economic Council reported the firm as a "major contributor" ($500 or more but specific amounts not given) in at least 3 quarters over the two-year period 1960-61. It is listed by Freedom School as among the firms utilizing its facilities to train personnel.

It is also of interest that Allen-Bradley Co. appears to be the leading financial supporter of Freedom Projects, a program making films (including "Communism on the Map") available to schools. This operation is managed by the same public relations firm which manages the John Birch Society's American Opinion Speakers Bureau. (Portland, Me. Press-Herald November, 1961) Finally, there is an Allen-Bradley Foundation, but listings of specific grant recipients are not publicly available. (For fiscal 1962 the Foundation reported almost $230,000 in grants to "educational institutions" and nearly $200,000 more in the category of "general" grants.)

Donaldson Brown -- A retired former executive in the DuPont Corp. and General Motors and still a DuPont director. He has given $2,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action. He and his wife are the main donors to the Mt. Ararat Foundation, for which detailed listings of grant recipients are available for the years 1958-62. Included are American Economic Foundation ($5,000), America's Future ($8,000), and the National Economic Council ($3,750 -- "for benefit of certain schools, libraries, etc."), as well as minor grants to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and Circuit Riders. Mr. Brown was one of the earliest trustees of the Foundation for Economic Education, though he has not appeared on their letterhead since the early 1950's.

F. Gano Chance -- Chairman of A. B. Chance Co., of Centralia, Mo., and a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society. Chance is also a trustee of America's Future, a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, a sponsor of the Manion Forum (listings of 1957-62), and on the advisory bodies of Hargis's Christian Crusade and the American Economic Foundation's "Hall of Free Enterprise" project. Listings of grant recipients for his Chance Foundation, during 1961-62, included: American Economic Foundation, America's Future, Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Hargis's Christian Crusade, Circuit Riders, and Harding College both years; and Church League, Freedom School, Freedoms Foundation, Human Events, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists in one year. Also included one year were two organizations in which Carl McIntire plays a leading role, the American and International Councils of Christian Churches. (The Chance Foundation grants are not strikingly large, but they do cover a wide spectrum of organizations.)

Robert Dresser -- A Providence, R. I. attorney. Dresser is probably best known for the frequent ads he runs in the Providence Journal commenting on political issues. He is a member of the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers and an Editorial Advisor to American Opinion. He has given $1,500 to Americans for Constitutional Action; is a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and was reported as a major contributor in 1962 (he also contributes to For America -- $1,150 in 1961-62); he evidently gives the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists an annual $100 contribution; he is in at least two Liebman organizations (Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters and Committee for Monroe Doctrine); is a Manion Forum sponsor; a National Economic Council director (and reported as a major contributor in 1961) and in earlier years has been on the Board of Fellows of the Freedom School and the Advisory Board of Liberty Lobby.

Robert Donner - A retired steel executive who lives in Colorado Springs and in earlier years worked with the late Merwin K. Hart (of the National Economic Council) and plugged Gerald L. K. Smith's Cross and the Flag. (Forster and Epstein, The Troublemakers, Doubleday, 1952, pp. 203 and 208) An early member of For America, Donner left the organization because it wasn't as politically active in 1954 as he desired. He has served as a director of Freedom School at Colorado Springs and is on the Senior Advisory Board of the American Security Council. He is the chairman of the Independence Foundation (named the Donner Foundation prior to 1962), for which a listing of grant recipients for the years 1958-59 includes: American Economic Foundation ($69,250), Harding College ($38,000), Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($10,000), Church League of America ($3,750), and Freedom School ($1,500 -- in 1957, its first year of operation). No comparable listing is available for 1962, but the Foundation reported total grants of more than $2 million that year.

TABLE 4

LEADING CONTRIBUTORS TO 20 SELECTED OPERATIONS

	Milliken Family; Deering Milliken, Inc.; Deering Milliken Fdn.	J. Howard Pew; Pew Freedom Trust; Pew Memorial Fdn.	F. Gano Chance; Chance Fdn.	Charles Hook; Armco Fdn.	Charles Edison; Brook Fdn.	Robert M. Gaylord; Ingersoll Milling Co.; Ingersoll Fdn.	A. G. Heinsohn, Jr.; Cherokee Mills; Spindale Mills; Ada Hearne Fdn.	Eli Lilly; Lilly Endowment	Herbert C. Stockham; Stockham Fdn.	William J. Grede; Grede Fdn.	Mr. & Mrs. DeWitt Wallace; Readers Digest Fdn.	Edwin L. Wiegand	Barber-Colman Co.; Barber-Colman Fdn.	Philip McKenna; Kennametal, Inc.; Kennametal Fdn.	Harry L. Bradley; Allen Bradley Co.	Walter Harnischfeger; Harnischfeger Corp.; Harnischfeger Fdn.	Robert E. Wood; Sears Roebuck Fdn.	Robert Donner; Independence (formerly Donner) Fdn.	Donaldson Brown; Mt. Ararat Fdn.	Robert Dresser
American Economic Fdn.	X	X	X	XX	Y	XX	XX	XX			XX		X	X		X		XX	XX	
Americans for Const'l Action	XX	X			XX	X	X	X		X	XX	X		X		X	X		X	X
America's Future	XX	Y	X	XX	X	X			X	X		Y	X	X		X	Y		XX	
Christian Anti-Comm'm Crusade	X		X		Y			X							XX				X	
Christian Freedom Fdn.		XX					X			X		X		XX			X			
Church League of America			X		X							Y				X	X	X		
Circuit Riders			X	X					XX										X	
Cit'ns Foreign Aid/For America	XX	XX	Y	Y	X		XX			Y		X				XX	X			X
Fdn. for Economic Education	XX	X		X	X	XX		XX	X	X	X		XX	X		X			Y	
Freedom School	XX		X			X				X		Y	X		X	X		X		Y
Freedoms Fdn., Valley Forge		XX	X	XX	X						X					X	XX			
Human Events[a]	X	Y	X		Y	Y	X		X	Y		Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Intercollegiate Soc. Ind'sts	XX	X	X	X	X	X	X	XX	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	XX		X
John Birch Society[a]	Y	Y	Y		Y		X			Y		Y			X					Y
Liebman "Complex"	X	XX			X			XX		X	X									Y
Manion Forum[b]	X		X	X	X		X		X			X		X	X	X				X
Nat'l Economic Council		Y					X		Y	Y		X			XX	XX	Y		X	X
Nat'l Educ'n Program (Harding)		X	X	XX			X		X		X					X	X	XX		
National Review[a]	X	Y			Y	X							X	X	X	X				
20th Century Reformation Hour		X	Y						Y											

XX - Major contributor
X - Contributors
Y - Affiliated in some way; possible contributors

[a] Advertisers in magazine regarded as "contributors."
[b] Those listed as Sponsors or Endorsers regarded as "contributors."

Charles Edison -- Former Chairman of McGraw-Edison Co., and a leading figure on the right. In addition to serving on the Editorial Advisory Board of American Opinion, Edison is Treasurer of Americans for Constitutional Action (and its leading contributor - $19,200 through 1963), served as a co-chairman of the Schwarz rally in New York City in 1962, is on the Committee of Endorsers of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (and has contributed to For America), was on the American Economic Foundation's advisory board for their "Hall of Free Enterprise" project, was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events, works extremely closely with Marvin Liebman in virtually all of his various organizations, is a Manion Forum sponsor, and was one of those congratulating National Review on its establishment. He is also the primary donor of the Brook Foundation, which made grants of more than $28,000 in 1962. While no listing of recipients is available for that year, one for 1960 included America's Future, Liebman's America-Asian Educational Exchange (of which Edison is Chairman), Church League of America, Foundation for Economic Education, Freedoms Foundation, and Intercollegiate Society of Individidualists.

Robert M. Gaylord -- Chairman of Ingersoll Milling Machine Co., of Rockford, Ill., which advertises in National Review. A former President of the National Association of Manufacturers, Gaylord is currently a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (and a financial contributor to the latter). He is another listed by Human Events as a "charter subscriber" and has contributed at least $1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action. The Ingersoll Foundation, to which both Gaylord and the firm contribute, gave to the following during the five years 1957-61: American Economic Foundation ($7,725), America's Future ($2,300), Foundation for Economic Education ($40,848), Freedom School ($4,100), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($4,900).

William Grede -- Head of a Milwaukee foundry and former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, Grede is on the John Birch Society's five-man Executive Committee, and a stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc. Grede is a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, a trustee of Freedom School, was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events, is a Manion Forum sponsor, and spoke at the National Education Program's 1964 Freedom Forum. He has personally loaned $1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action and contributed small amounts to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The Grede Foundation reported 1962 grants to: America's Future ($100), Foundation for Economic Education ($350), Freedom School ($1,065), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($100). In 1960 the Christian Freedom Foundation reported receiving $1,000 from the Grede Foundation.

Walter Harnischfeger -- Chairman of the Harnischfeger Corp., of Milwaukee, which advertises in National Review and is listed as a major contributor in 1961 by the National Economic Council, of which Harnischfeger himself is a director. He is also Chairman of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, and evidently its leading financial supporter; a trustee of America's Future; a Manion Forum sponsor; and a "charter subscriber" to Human Events. He has contributed at least $2,700 to Americans for Constitutional Action, and the Harnischfeger Foundation reported grants (mostly small) in 1962 to: American Economic Foundation, America's Future, Church League of America, Foundation for Economic Education, Freedom School, Freedoms Foundation, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (to which Harnischfeger has also given directly), and Harding College.

A. G. Heinsohn, Jr. -- Head of Cherokee Textile Mills and of Spindale Mills. Heinsohn is on the Executive Committee of the John Birch Society, is a stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc., and his firms advertise in American Opinion. He is also a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, a charter subscriber to Human Events, a Manion Forum sponsor, and a director of the National Economic Council. He has given at least $1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action, has been reported by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee as a major contributor each year, 1960-62, and was so reported by the National Economic Council in 1961. In 1948 he established the Ada Hearne Foundation, which made grants in 1959 and 1960 (the only years for which listings are available) to: American Economic Foundation($19,540), Christian Freedom Foundation ($6,500), Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($1,000), and Harding College ($1,000). The Foundation also made a $1,000 grant in 1959 to the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, which disbursed most of its grants to Human Events.

Charles Hook -- The late Mr. Hook was a former President of the National Association of Manufacturers as well as head of Armco Steel and of the Armco Foundation. He was a trustee of America's Future, a sponsor of the Manion Forum, and served (prior to 1957) on the Policy Committee of For America. During the years 1954-62, the Foundation's grants included: American Economic Foundation ($43,055), America's Future ($26,000), Foundation for Economic Education ($4,992), Freedoms Foundation ($77,500), Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($1,950), Harding College ($67,500), and one minor grant to Circuit Riders.

Eli Lilly -- Now honorary chairman of Eli Lilly Co., the Indianapolis pharmaceutical firm, and a donor as well as Treasurer of the Lilly Endowment. Lilly himself gave $1,200 to Americans for Constitutional Action in 1962. The Endowment's grants in 1962 (the only year for which a listing is available), included: American Economic Foundation ($10,000), Foundation for Economic Education ($25,000), and Marvin Liebman's American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange ($25,000). In addition, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists reported $50,000 in grants from the Endowment over a two-year period, and a news item credited it with contributing $5,000 to Fred Schwarz for his 1963 "School" in Indianapolis.

Philip M. McKenna -- President of Kennametal, Inc., which advertises in National Review. A former trustee of Americans for Constitutional Action (which he loaned $2,500 in 1962), McKenna is a charter subscriber to Human Events and a sponsor of the Manion Forum. He gave $10,000 to the Christian Freedom Foundation over a two-year period, and the Kennametal Foundation, in the two years for which listings are available, has made grants to American Economic Foundation ($2,500 in 1962), America's Future ($500 in 1962), and the Foundation for Economic Education ($400 in 1959).

Milliken family and Deering Milliken, Inc. -- The

"Milliken family" is listed by Human Events as charter subscribers and the family firm advertises regularly in National Review. Roger Milliken, the President of Deering Milliken, Inc., is on the Committee of Endorsers of the John Birch Society. In addition, he is: an adviser to the American Economic Foundation (for its "Hall of Free Enterprise" project), a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (and has been listed as a major contributor each year, 1960-62), a trustee of Freedom School, a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education, an advisor to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and a sponsor of the Manion Forum. Gerrish H. Milliken, Jr., a director in the firm, gave the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists $3,500 in 1959 and has contributed at least $200 to Americans for Constitutional Action. Minot K. Milliken, the firm's Vice-President and Treasurer, served as a sponsor for Fred Schwarz's 1962 rally in New York City. Mrs. Seth Milliken, whose husband was evidently a firm vice-president in earlier years, has headed her own right-wing operation, Public Action, Inc., as well as being an Endorser of the John Birch Society, a sponsor of the Manion Forum, a member of at least one Liebman operation (the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine), and a major contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action ($5,000).

The Deering Milliken Foundation reported grants to the following in 1962: Liebman's American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange ($1,000), American Economic Foundation ($1,000), America's Future ($1,400), Christian Anti-Communism Crusade ($2,500), Foundation for Economic Education ($5,100), Freedom School ($100,000), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($2,500). In earlier years the Foundation also reported grants to the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, which helped underwrite Human Events.

J. Howard Pew -- Chairman of Sun Oil and long-time foe of the New Deal and all successor tendencies. Mr. Pew is on the Editorial Advisory Committee of American Opinion and is a stockholder in its publisher, Robert Welch, Inc. He has contributed at least $3,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action. He reportedly put up the money for the establishment of Kershner's Christian Freedom Foundation and, in four recent years for which data are available, contributed nearly $1 million to it (thus personally accounting for a majority of its income). He is a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and has been reported as a major contributor each year, 1960-62. He is a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education, a member of Liebman's Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, was a charter subscriber to Human Events, and congratulated National Review on its establishment. He has personally contributed to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($2,000 in 1961 for example), to Liberty Lobby ($1,000 in 1963), and to the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China ($1,000). In earlier years he has been reported as a supporter of America's Future and of Merwin Hart's National Economic Council (Buchanan Committee hearings), and as a contributor to Carl McIntire (Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, Beacon, 1953, p. 304).

The J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust reported in 1962 grants to Christian Freedom Foundation ($20,000) and to American Economic Foundation and the Foundation for Economic Education ($2,000 each). In earlier years there was also a Pew Memorial Foundation which reported, for 1955-56, grants to Freedoms Foundation ($20,000), and Harding College ($10,000).

Herbert C. Stockham -- General Manager of Stockham Valves and Fittings, a Birmingham firm which advertises in Human Events. Herbert Stockham is a sponsor of the Manion Forum and was listed by Human Events as a "charter subscriber." In earlier years he was reported as a contributor to Merwin Hart's National Economic Council. (Buchanan Committee hearings, Part 4, p. 254) The William H. and Kate F. Stockham Foundation, to which the family firm is apparently the major contributor, reported 1962 grants including the following: America's Future ($500), Circuit Riders ($5,000), Foundation for Economic Education($2,000), Harding College ($5,000), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists($2,000). It also reported grants to the American and International Councils of Christian Churches, in which Carl McIntire plays a leading role.

DeWitt and Lila Wallace -- Founders and publishers of Reader's Digest. The Wallaces have given at least $10,350 to Americans for Constitutional Action (ranking them second only to ACA Treasurer Charles Edison in support of the organization), and the Reader's Digest Foundation reported grants in the three years 1959-61 including: American Economic Foundation ($10,500), Freedoms Foundation ($5,500), Liebman's American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange ($2,000), Harding College ($1,500), and the Foundation for Economic Education ($500).

Edwin L. Wiegand -- Chairman of the Pittsburgh electrical heating equipment firm of the same name. With his wife, Mr. Wiegand has contributed $1,500 to Americans for Constitutional Action and loaned it an additional $2,500; he is a former trustee of America's Future; he contributed $1,665 to Christian Freedom Foundation during the years 1958-9; he is a director of the Church League of America; he contributed $1,350 to For America in 1956; he is a former member of the Board of Fellows of Freedom School, and was listed by Human Events as a "charter subscriber;" he has contributed to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($300 each in 1959 and 1961); he is on the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers, on Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, and is a sponsor of the Manion Forum; and he is a director of the National Economic Council (and was listed as a major contributor in 1961).

Gen. Robert E. Wood (retired) -- Former chairman of Sears Roebuck and still a director. His many right-wing affiliations include: a fund-raiser for American Security Council (and a member of its Senior Advisory Board); contributed over $3,300 to Americans for Constitutional Action; a former trustee of America's Future; contributed $1,000 to Christian Freedom Foundation in 1962; a member of Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, and listed as a major contributor in at least two recent years (he was also a major leader of For America and contributed $2,725 to it in 1956); hosted the luncheon at which Human Events was launched; on the Advisory Board of Life Lines; and a contributor to the National Education Program at Harding. In earlier years he was a contributor to Merwin Hart's National Economic Council. (Buchanan Committee hearings, Part 4, p. 161)

The firm of Sears Roebuck has been listed as a contributor by both the Church League of America and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The Sears Roebuck Foundation gave $25,000 to Freedoms Foundation in 1961.

Other Important Contributors

Not all of the leading supporters of the right-wing spread their contributions among as many operations as those in Table 4 and some concentrate their support on one or a few operations. As might be expected, the leading contributors to Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, for example, do not show up as important contributors to the more respectable right (with a couple of exceptions, which will be noted) Smith appears to be another whose major support is broadly based. For the eight years, 1955-62, less than 5% of his contributions were accounted for by the 18 persons who led the list with totals in excess of $2,500. (And, only two of these went over $5,000 for the period: an F. J. Martin, of Toledo, Ohio, with $7,792, and a C. Cleveland, of Ft. Worth, Texas, with $5,096.)

The following 25 financial supporters, which were noted during the present study but do not appear in Table 4, seem worthy of mention.

Lemuel R. Boulware -- A former Vice-President of General Electric (for employee relations), Boulware is a trustee of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and contributed $11,200 to ISI in the two years 1961-62. He has also given $3,500 to Americans for Constitutional Action, and has spoken at Freedom Forums both at Harding College and at Pepperdine College.

Joe Crail -- Crail is the President of Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association, of Los Angeles, one of the nation's biggest. It operates its own Free Enterprise Bureau, budgeted at a quarter-of-a-million dollars a year (Alan Westin in Commentary, December, 1963), the purpose of which, Crail says, "is to preserve a climate of economic opinion favorable to Americanism," with advertising as "a surprisingly successful by-product." (Calif. State Assembly, Interim Committee Reports, 1961-63, Vol. 4, No. 7, p. 67) Crail is a trustee of America's Future, and was a charter subscriber to Human Events.

Jasper Crane -- A former DuPont vice-president and still a director of the firm, Crane is a Vice-President of the Foundation for Economic Education, a member of the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, and on Human Events' charter subscription list. He has contributed $1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action and loaned ACA another $2,500. The Curran Foundation lists its address as "c/o Jasper E. Crane," but in recent years has filed the required returns with Internal Revenue in only 1958 and 1961. Neither of these gave a listing of grant recipients (the latter year indicated a total of $35,000 in contributions made), but returns filed by American Economic Foundation, Christian Freedom Foundation, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists all reflected grants from the Curran Foundation -- AEF reported $5,000 in 1962, CFF reported $5,000 in the same year (and in prior years), and ISI reported $3,000 in 1961.

Frank DeGanahl -- A familiar name on the right-wing, DeGanahl is a member of the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers, of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee's Committee of Endorsers, of the Committee on the Monroe Doctrine, of the advisory body for the American Economic Foundation's "Hall of Free Enterprise" project, a "charter subscriber" to Human Events, and a former stockholder in National Review. He contributed $2,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action in 1963, $2,000 to the Christian Freedom Foundation in 1959, and smaller amounts to For America and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists in other years. He is reported as a major contributor by the National Economic Council in 1961.

Pierre S. DuPont -- A Vice-President of E. I. DuPont de Nemours, he has been second only to the late Merwin Hart in the number of times he was reported as a major contributor to the National Economic Council (in 9 quarters during the period 1957-61 -- indicating at least $4,500 in contributions during the period).

Edgar Ainsworth Eyre -- Eyre is a director of W. R. Grace & Co. and of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad. He is a member of the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers and, together with Mrs. Eyre, has contributed some $8,660 to Americans for Constitutional Action and loaned it another $2,500.

Frank S. Flick -- The head of Flick-Reedy Corp., a suburban Chicago manufacturing firm, Flick has been a leading figure in the income tax-repeal movement. In addition to being Illinois State Chairman of the Liberty Amendment Committee, he formerly served as General Manager of Freedom, the Committee's magazine. He is a Manion Forum sponsor and was chosen 1963's "Patriot of the Year" by We, The People! When Billy James Hargis and Gen. Walker appeared in Chicago in early 1963, Flick donated the use of his firm's auditorium. He has been reported as a contributor (at least $100 in 1962) to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation. His firm, like Joe Crail's Coast Federal Savings and Loan, has its own "Americanism" program, the Flick-Reedy Education Association, which sponsors a "rightist course designed by George A. Roberts of Texas" and "full of inane statements." (Alan Westin, Commentary, December, 1963) The size of the Association's budget is not known. In addition, Flick heads a tax-exempt organization called the Institute for Economic Inquiry which provides instruction in "free enterprise" economics free to the public.

Patrick Frawley -- Chairman of the Board of both the Schick Safety Razor Co. (which advertises regularly in National Review), and Technicolor, Inc., Frawley has been a leading financial backer of Dr. Fred Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, both directly and through sponsorship of his firms (see, for example, Janson and Eismann, The Far Right, pp. 66-7). Frawley has also actively supported fund-raising efforts of the American Security Council and Freedoms Foundation. Other recipients of Frawley contributions have been the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation ($10,000 in 1962), and Americans for Constitutional Action ($100 in 1963). He has served on at least one Liebman operation, the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine.

Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Galt, of Chicago -- This couple

ranks near the top of reported contributors to For America in recent years -- they gave $1,200 in 1961 and another $1,100 in 1962.

Pierre Goodrich -- An Indianapolis attorney who heads Indiana Telephone Corp. and several other firms, Goodrich is a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education. He was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events and reportedly was once active in the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, which subsidized Human Events. Goodrich himself has contributed to Americans for Constitutional Action ($500 in 1960); and the Winchester Foundation, to which he and some of his firms are the leading contributors, reported grants in the years 1959-61 which included: Foundation for Economic Education ($17,250), Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($2,730), and Freedom School ($750).

Joseph R. Grundy -- A former Republican senator from Pennsylvania, the late Mr. Grundy (deceased 3/3/61) was a leading contributor to Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council -- reported as a "major contributor" every year from 1957 through 1961 (a total of 6 quarters, or at least $3,000).

Countess Rosalind Guardabassi -- Daughter of a textile manufacturer, Countess Guardabassi has been an important contributor to Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade ($3,425 in 1962), and to the National Economic Council (listed as a "major contributor" in each year, 1960-62). She is an endorser of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and gave $1,100 to For America in the years 1961-62. She has also been listed as a contributor to the National States Rights Party, and is reported to have arranged for an August, 1962 meeting of Gen. Walker with about fifty guests at her home in Prides Crossing, Mass. (N.Y. Post 3/30/64).

H. L. Hunt -- The well-known Texas oil-billionaire makes no secret of his close connection with Life Line (he said in 1961 that "I now devote most of my time and energies" to Life Line). Former Life Line commentator Wayne Poucher has indicated that supervision of the program by Mr. Hunt is close and continuing. In addition, it is primarily Hunt firms that sponsor Life Line on the local stations. HLH Parade (his food processing firm) spends a reported $100,000 a month on Life Line. (N.Y. Times 8/17/64) The names of direct contributors to Life Line Foundation are not generally available but a congressional subcommittee has revealed that, during the years 1951-63, Hunt gave some $2.9 million to Life Line and its predecessor, Facts Forum -- 96% of their total contributions for the period. (Wash. Star 9/1/64)

Walter Knott -- Proprietor of Knott's Berry Farm and "Ghost Town" in Buena Park, California. Knott is the Treasurer of the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., the leading income tax-repeal organization. Until recently, Knott ran the California Free Enterprise Association, another "Americanism" education operation, as a part of the business. When Internal Revenue refused to regard it as a business operation for tax purposes, however, Knott arranged for it to become part of the tax-exempt Americanism Educational League, of which he was already Vice-Chairman of the Board.

Knott served on the steering committee for a 1961 Schwarz "school" and subsequently as a sponsor for the Latin America literature project of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. He is also on the Advisory Board of Hargis' Christian Crusade. His reported financial contributions include: American Economic Foundation ($6,000 in 1962, with his wife), Americans for Constitutional Action ($1,750 plus a $1,000 loan), Christian Freedom Foundation ($500 in 1962), and For America ($100 in 1961).

D. B. Lewis -- The head of a Los Angeles pet food firm (Dr. Ross'), Lewis is a member of the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers, his firm advertises in American Opinion, and Robert Welch has described him as "a strong friend of the Society in many much more substantial ways." (Bulletin, June, 1962) His firm is particularly important in right-wing radio and television sponsorship. He is the leading backer of Dan Smoot (over 50 radio stations and more than 30 TV outlets); sponsors Manion Forum widely in the western states; and now sponsors a regular radio show featuring former Congressman Donald Jackson.

Edgar Bundy of the Church League has acknowledged TV sponsorship by Lewis and when Robert Welch made a major speech in Los Angeles in 1962, Lewis' firm sponsored it on the local television. The firm has also run, "as a public service," ads giving the ratings of candidates on "constitutional principles." (These led to an indictment for violation of the law against corporate spending to influence elections, but the trial ended in a hung jury.)

In addition to such direct aid, Lewis is a member of the Advisory Board of Hargis' Christian Crusade, and is a leader of the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxes.

Harold Luhnow -- Head of both the Volker furniture firm and the William Volker Fund, Luhnow was an initial trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education (serving until 1952), supported Merwin Hart and the National Economic Council, and reportedly supported the National Education Program at Harding College. (See Buchanan Committee hearings on both Foundation for Economic Education and National Economic Council.) The William Volker Fund, which was the largest single contributor to the Foundation for Economic Education in its early years, has also supported Harding College ($10,000 in 1952), the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($4,300 in 1959), and the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship ($5,000 in 1952).

George S. Montgomery -- A corporation lawyer in New York City, Montgomery has been a leading contributor to For America ($2,400 in 1961-62), as well as an endorser of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. He is a Vice-President of the National Economic Council and has been a contributor to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($500 in 1959).

Sterling Morton -- The former head of the Morton Salt Co., he was one of those attending the luncheon at which Human Events was launched, and has also been listed as a stockholder in National Review. He has been a major contributor to the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (reported each year, 1959-61), and earlier had been a member of For America's Policy Committee and a contributor to that organization ($1,000 in 1956). He gave $100 to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists each year, 1956-59. He has probably also contributed to Harding College, which has awarded him an honorary degree.

Penthouse Trust -- The principals of this Boston philanthropic trust are Miss Hope Gray and Miss Olive Gimes;

both of whom are not only Endorsers of the John Birch Society, but stockholders in Robert Welch, Inc. The trust itself shares an address with Col. Laurence E. Bunker, a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society, and reportedly the closest advisor to the Misses Gray and Simes. These facts plus statements by unnamed Society members have resulted in speculation that the Penthouse Trust is a major, if not the leading, source of financial support for the John Birch Society. (See N.Y. Post 4/2/64) Additionally, Miss Simes appears to be second only to the Pew family in her support of Howard Kershner's Christian Freedom Foundation, which reported $46,744 in contributions from her during a four-year period. She has also served on at least one Liebman operation, the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine. Finally, the Christian Nationalist Crusade of Gerald L. K. Smith has reported, during the years 1956-62, a total of $1,535 from "G. Simes, Boston, Mass." and $102 from "H. Gray, Boston, Mass."

Bernard Peyton -- Former head of the New York Air Brake Co. and still a director of the DuPont corporation, Peyton has been a leading contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action ($6,500). He was listed as a major contributor by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee in both 1961 and 1962, and was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events.

Relm Foundation -- Founded in 1950 by retired oilman, Harry Boyd Earhart, and still headed by his son-in-law, James A. Kennedy, the Relm Foundation has been an important source of funds for the American Economic Foundation ($38,800 in the years 1957-60), Foundation for Economic Education ($29,500 in the same period), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists ($17,208 in the same period). In earlier years, Earhart himself had been a supporter of Merwin Hart's National Economic Council (see Buchanan Committee hearings).

Richardson Foundation -- This multi-million dollar foundation was first set up in 1935 by members of the Richardson family. Chief donor was H. Smith Richardson, Sr., then head of the Vick Chemical Co.; and head of the foundation now is H. Smith Richardson, Jr., who is also head of Richardson-Merrell, Inc., now the parent-firm of the chemical combine. It has been a large contributor to Freedoms Foundation ($21,000 in 1961 and $10,000 in 1962). Its major interest, however, would appear to be in what is frequently characterized as "hard-line" foreign policy. Thus, it has reported more than a half-million dollars in grants to the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania, headed by Robert Strausz-Hupe'. Similarly, it has given nearly $100,000 to the Institute for American Strategy and its program of military-industrial conferences and "cold war" seminars.

Hubbard Russell -- A California rancher who died in late 1963, Russell was a leading contributor to For America ($2,300 in 1961-62), of which he had been one of the organizers, and was also a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. He was a member of the John Birch Society (1963 Report of a California Senate Subcommittee); a "charter subscriber" to Human Events; a trustee of the Manion Forum (and a member of its 3-man governing board); a member of the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine; and a member of the Executive Committee of the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A.

Alfred P. Sloan Foundation -- Established by the former head of General Motors, the Foundation was instrumental in making the National Education Program of Harding College a leading producer and distributor of free enterprise, anti-communist, "educational materials." Grants to NEP from the Foundation had exceeded the half-million dollar mark by 1951, and have continued in smaller amounts in later years. For the two years, 1958-59, the Foundation reported grants to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge($20,000); Foundation for Economic Education ($15,000), and Harding ($10,000).

Edwin S. Webster -- An investment banker (Kidder, Peabody and Co.), Webster has been one of the leading contributors to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, of which he is a trustee. ISI reported grants from him totalling $16,750 for the years 1955-58. Webster was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events and also has been listed as a stockholder of National Review. In earlier years he was a contributor to the National Economic Council. (Buchanan Committee hearings)

Conclusion and Comments

What conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing study? First, that the American right-wing is a multi-million dollar enterprise. It should be remembered that this study deals only with 30 operations in a field where the total number, even by a relatively narrow definition, may well be in the hundreds. Add to this the fact that a substantial number of major ones haven't been touched on, either due to limitations of information or of space.

Thus, for example, such major exceptions to this study as the Liberty Amendment Committee, Young Americans for Freedom, We, The People!, Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms (a temporary, but major operation), Americanism Educational League, Southern States Industrial Council, Committee for Constitutional Government, American Council of Christian Laymen, Congress of Freedom, and Association of American Physicians and Surgeons -- to name ten -- would probably add another $1 to $2 million a year to the current figures.

Less spectacular, but more substantial in the big picture, would be the total of the relatively small amounts spent by the extremely numerous local organizations and affiliates. As is noted in Appendix B, for example, the segregationist "resistance movement" in the South, taken alone, may amount to as much as $1 to $2 million a year. The figures represented by the myriad speeches and lectures of the apparently-indefatigable spokesmen of the right would also run up to an impressive sum. To this should be added the budgets of local American Opinion Libraries and Bookstores, not to mention such national operations as The Bookmailer and Poor Richard's and the spending of local groups on the rental of tapes and filmstrips (not all of which come from the organizations covered in this study, by any means).

Thus, considering all of these aspects, it seems likely that the total spending of the right wing in America is at least twice that portion which is represented by data in this study, especially if one retains the relatively broad definition of right wing that has been applied here.

Thus, a reasonably conservative guess of the total would be $30 million a year.

A second conclusion that deserves emphasis is that the right-wing is not a recent development. Of the 30 operations covered in this study, all but seven date back at least to 1955. (Two of these in the "Liebman complex" are recent arrivals on the scene, but the others date back to the 1950's.) No less than eleven of the thirty date back to the 1940's or earlier. The National Economic Council, for example, has been around in some form since 1930.

Third, the rate of growth reflected in the figures is truly impressive. Even if one excludes 1960 and 1961 as "abnormal" growth years, the average annual rate of increase shown by the figures is over 17% and would result in a doubling of the total every 4-1/2 years. While it is true that some sort of "leveling off" process is to be expected in the future, this remains a reflection of long-term strength, based as it is on a period of some eight years.

One further comparison may help in putting the figures into perspective. While financial figures for the Communist Party in the U. S. are not generally available, the Federal government has estimated that the Party's total income in 1951 was under $392,000, and its membership at that time about 31,600. At its peak, in the mid-1940's, the Party had a total membership of about 80,000 and thus, presumably, an income of less than $1 million a year. The John Birch Society had topped that by the fifth year of its existence.

Fourth, it seems fair to say that a very large amount of the finances of the right-wing has some sort of privileged status under the tax-laws. The prevalent role of tax-free foundations and trusts in the section above dealing with sources of finances is due in part to the fact that information on these is more readily available to the public. But it must also be regarded as evidence of the attractiveness to larger contributors of such a technique. Without denying that the problem of drawing a line between "education" and "propaganda" is an extremely difficult one -- especially in a society that is committed to freedom of thought and expression -- the situation disclosed by the foregoing information indicates that the American taxpayers are indirectly supporting far more of the political and economic right wing than they realize. And the amount is increasing.

Appendix A

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The data in Tables 1 through 3 were based on the following sources. Adjustments to a calendar-year assumed that income was evenly distributed throughout a fiscal year.

American Economic Foundation -- Form 990 A informational returns filed with Internal Revenue Service; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending September 30.

American Security Council -- Estimated. Published figures for three years are available -- N. Y. Times 7/10/58 referred to annual budget of $100,000; St. Louis Post-Dispatch 8/13/61 referred to income for previous year of $227,000; Janson and Eismann, in The Far Right (McGraw-Hill, 1963), refer to spending of "a quarter of a million dollars a year." The Council's fiscal year ends on March 31 and adjustment for this, combined with straight-line interpolation and extrapolation gave figures utilized. (The assumption of linear growth is supported by a 1961 brochure which said ASC had "more than doubled in size each year.")

Americans for Constitutional Action -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. ACA was established in mid-1958. The 1962 figure includes $46,000 in loans.

America's Future -- Form 990A returns for all years except 1961, when no return was filed; figure for that year is interpolated.

Christian Anti-Communism Crusade -- Form 990A returns. Figure for 1955 partially estimated -- exemption application file includes figures for period November, 1953 through May, 1955; first 990A return covers calendar 1956.

Christian Crusade -- Form 990A returns. Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc. is tax-exempt name under which Hargis operates.

Christian Freedom Foundation -- Form 990A returns; total income figures for 1955-57 arrived at on basis of partial data furnished by publicly available portions of the returns.

Christian Nationalist Crusade -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. It is not clear whether these reports include the budget of The Cross and the Flag.

Church League of America -- Form 990A returns. Total income for 1955 arrived at on basis of partial data furnished by publicly available portion of the return.

Circuit Riders -- Form 990A returns, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending October 31. Figure for 1962 partially estimated (last two months).

Citizens Councils of America -- Estimated. Wall Street Journal 5/23/63 reported figure of $200,000 for previous year; figures for earlier years based on this, combined with reported circulation figures for their official publication, The Citizen, and assuming an independent growth-rate in the budget of 10% annually (an arbitrary factor intended to allow for the cumulative character of money-raising activities). Note that these estimates are for the federation only, and do not include state and local councils. The Southern Regional Council estimated the total "southern resistance movement" at $2 million in 1956 (N. Y. Times 12/2/56).

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee / For America -- Figures for CFAC are based on reports filed under the Lobbying Act (which represent only that share of total budget considered by the organization to be directly related to "lobbying"), multiplied by a factor of 4. (Gen. Fellers gave their budget figure in 1961 as "about $50,000" but they only reported $12,000 under the Lobbying Act.) For America figures are from reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. The two organizations are combined because they now operate jointly.

Common Sense -- Estimated. Circulation figures have been reported to the Post Office Department for 1960 and years since; they are estimated for 1958 and 1959; and a budget figure of $2 per copy is used in arriving at the estimates shown. (Subscription rate is $1 in an unsealed envelope, $3 in a sealed envelope. The 1954 Preliminary Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicated that the budget for Common Sense -- including sale of pamphlets and reprints -- averaged about $2 per subscriber at that time.)

Courtney "complex" -- The Courtneys publish The Independent American, have a radio program, publish books and pamphlets, and operate the Conservative Society of America (set up in 1961). Life 2/9/62 quoted them as reporting an income in 1960 of $133,000; Janson and Eismann (The Far Right, McGraw-Hill, 1963) were given a figure of $150,000 for 1961. Other years have been estimated, based on changes in the size of their "radio network" and in circulation reported by them for The Independent American.

Daughters of the American Revolution, National Defense Committee -- Annual reports; adjusted to a calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending February 28.

Foundation for Economic Education -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending March 31.

Freedom School -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending September 30. Figures for 1957 and 1962 partially estimated since returns were not available for a full year in either case.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge -- Form 990A returns, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending June 30.

Human Events -- Gross sales figures have been reported for years 1955 through 1961 (fiscal year ending on June 30); after adjustment to calendar-year basis, 1961 through 1963 were extrapolated on the basis of reported circula-

tion figures. (In 1963 the format was changed and subscription rate cut substantially, resulting in a lower estimate for that year in spite of continued circulation increase.)

Intercollegiate Society of Individualists -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending March 31. Figures for 1959 and 1960 partially estimated since there was no return filed for fiscal 1960.

John Birch Society -- Reports filed with Massachusetts Commissioner of Charities.

Liberty Lobby -- Estimated. Partial figures for 1961-63 were reported under the Lobbying Act, with an indication in some quarters as to what portion of total budget was being reported. Total figures for these 3 years were estimated on the basis of the partial figures reported. A figure for 1957 was reported by Willis Carto, Liberty Lobby's Treasurer, in Right, January, 1958. Figures for 1958-60 were interpolated on a straight-line basis.

Liebman "complex" -- For American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange: Form 990A returns, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending August 31; for American Jewish League Against Communism: Form 990A returns; for Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations: Reports filed with New York Department of Social Welfare, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending March 31; for American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters: Reports filed with New York Department of Social Welfare; for Committee for the Monroe Doctrine: Reports filed with New York Department of Social Welfare, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending October 31.

Life Line -- Form 990A returns, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending September 30; plus estimates for cost of radio-television time. Latter estimates based on average size of "network" multiplied by $1,750 -- one-half the figure utilized in estimating cost of air time for Rev. McIntire's 30 minute daily program (see below). This is an extremely conservative estimate as is indicated by the fact that it gives a figure of just over a half-million dollars for 1963 when a recent news report (N. Y. Times 8/17/64) refers to "about $2 million of air time annually for Life Line.

Manion Forum -- Figures for 1956 through 1959 from reports filed with the Indiana Secretary of State; other years estimated on basis of average size of radio "network."

National Economic Council -- Based on reports filed under the Lobbying Act. While these reports include only what is regarded as being directly related to lobbying, they frequently indicate what proportion of the total budget is represented.

National Education Program -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending August 31. Figure for 1962 partially estimated (September-December).

National Review -- Estimated. Buckley himself, in the 10/10/59 issue, gave summary figures for 1958. Using these as a bench-mark, other years have been estimated on the basis of: circulation (as reported to Post Office Dept. and to Standard Rate and Data Service); average subscription rate (increasing from $7 in 1956 to $11.50 in 1962); average amount of advertising space (based on sample counts); and per-page ad rate of $250 through 1958 and $280 thereafter (this is quite low according to rates quoted in Standard Rate and Data Service -- except for book ads -- but is in line with figure given by Buckley for 1958).

Dan Smoot -- Estimated. Paid circulation figures are available for all years and these were multiplied by subscription rate to get estimates of income from the Report. Data in various issues of the Report also made possible estimates of the average size of Smoot's radio and television "network" during the years. A check of 21 radio and 18 television stations from his list in Standard Rate and Data Service publications indicated that his air time must cost at least $700 a year for his radio show and at least $2,500 a year for the television show (both are 15-minutes weekly). Combined with average "network" size, these gave estimates for air time expenditures. It should be noted that no estimate was attempted for income from books and reprints, nor for actual cost of producing the radio and TV tapes.

Twentieth Century Reformation Hour -- Estimated. In the 2/8/64 issue of Christian Beacon annual figures are given for circulation and for the growth of the radio "network" on which McIntire appears. Combining annual circulation figures with the subscription rate gives estimates for annual income from Christian Beacon. McIntire's air time (he is on daily for 30 minutes) is paid for by his own organization (at commercial rates, he contends). A check of Standard Rate and Data Service for 32 outlets in 21 states indicates that the average cost must be about $5,500 a year per station. In 1959, however, McIntire had indicated an average cost of about $4,000 (Christian Beacon 3/26/59), and in subsequent statements had implied an even lower amount (as low as $2,000 in 1960). An arbitrary figure of $3,500 has been used in this study, as below that indicated by Standard Rate and Data Service figures but above the lowest figure implied by McIntire. Combination of this figure with the average "network" size gave estimates for his radio budget. Again, it should be noted that no attempt was made to include estimates for income from speaking engagements, books, pamphlets, and such other activities of McIntire's operation. Support for the estimates arrived at is provided by an article in the New York Post earlier this year which quoted McIntire as saying, "Our budget is easily a million dollars year."

Appendix B

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF THE GROUPS

COVERED IN THIS STUDY

American Economic Foundation -- Founded in 1939 and still headed by Fred Clark, who has called for repeal of the income tax and referred to "the intellectual New Dealers, ADA'ers, and more recently New Frontiersmen" as "witch doctors." AEF includes among its trustees Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, who is active in several other right-wing causes, including Life Line and the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. AEF's program concentrates on teaching "free enterprise" economics in schools and through in-plant programs of business firms. It opposes government economic programs ("Government is never a source of goods"), urges breaking up of labor union "monopoly," and expresses concern about "the capricious hand of the Supreme Court." A leading current project is the "Hall of Free Enterprise" at the New York World's Fair.

American Security Council -- Set up in 1955 by an ex-FBI man, ASC combines industrial security research (bluntly called a "loyalty-security blacklist" by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch) with a "cold war" education program and "hard-line" foreign policy recommendations. It is headed by John Fisher, a former special assistant to Gen. Robert E. Wood, a long-time major figure in the right wing. Its "National Strategy Council" includes Gen. Wedemeyer, Adm. Ben Moreell (head of Americans for Constitutional Action), Gen. Edward Almond (an Endorser of the John Birch Society), and Robert Morris (author of No Wonder We Are Losing and frequent right-wing candidate for office). ASC's newsletter, Washington Report, has opposed the test-ban treaty, opposed UN policy in the Congo, backed the Diem government in South Viet-Nam, and attacked the Pugwash conferences of scientists.

Americans for Constitutional Action -- Formed in 1958 as a "counter" to Americans for Democratic Action, ACA is openly political and has defined its purpose as the election of "constitutional conservatives." Its three top leaders are Adm. Ben Moreell (who calls the income tax one of the "greatest intrusions on individual freedom in the history of our Republic," and says that "Americans have been running away from their own revolution in order to embrace an alien program saturated with Marxist ideology"); Gen. Bonner Fellers (who also heads the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and For America, and is an Endorser of the Birch Society); and Charles Edison (an Editorial Advisor to the Birch Society magazine, American Opinion). ACA is probably best known for its ratings of Senators and Representatives. These reflect ACA's opposition to aid to education, foreign aid, the farm program, social security, the test-ban treaty and civil rights legislation, among other things.

America's Future -- Originally the "radio arm" of the Committee for Constitutional Government in New York, America's Future subsequently reorganized and moved to New Rochelle. (It now claims that it has no connection with CCG.) America's Future's trustees include John Birch Society Council members Tom Anderson and F. Gano Chance as well as such other outstanding rightists as Joe Crail, Walter Harnischfeger, and Herbert Philbrick. Its current leadership is headed by Rudolph Scott and Rosalie Gordon (formerly a research assistant to John T. Flynn, and author of a leading anti-Supreme Court book, Nine Men Against America). Scott is the commentator on the organizations's radio show, "Behind the Headlines," which appears on nearly 400 stations. On the program he has opposed the Supreme Court's school integration decision; said that the State Department is "riddled with boondogglers, many of whom are soft on Communism;" and has warned against the "Labor Boss Monopoly." Miss Gordon edits the newsletter which reprints from Scott's broadcasts and plugs conservative books (the new "Conservative Book Club" has the same address as America's Future). America's Future also operates a textbook evaluation program, with the evaluations carried out by a committee made up of right wing academicians, such as E. Merrill Root (Birch Society Endorser), Hans Sennholz (Contributing Editor of American Opinion), and Charles C. Tansill (a regular contributor to American Opinion).

Christian Anti-Communism Crusade -- Headed by the Australian physician, Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, who was first brought to the U. S. by Rev. Carl McIntire, of the Twentieth Century Reformation Hour. CACC specializes in week-long "Schools of Anti-Communism" in which Schwarz and his staff are assisted by outside "faculty" members in lectures on such topics as "Philosophy of Communism," "Communist Fronts," "Communism and Youth," and "National Suicide by International Agreement." While Schwarz denies any bias other than anti-Communist, his faculty members tend to echo the right-wing line relative to the degree of infiltration of American life, and Schwarz concedes that the schools are generally attended "by those of a conservative bent." Robert Welch has lauded the CACC as doing "a superb job" of anti-Communist "education."

Christian Crusade -- This is the organization headed by Rev. Billy James Hargis, an Endorser of the John Birch Society. His organization's Advisory Board includes 18 others linked with the Society, as well as a few who might be regarded as even more extreme than the JBS. Hargis' views include calling segregation "one of nature's universal laws;" stating that the National Council of Churches has indicted itself "on 50 counts of treason to God and country;" calling the brotherhood of man "a smokescreen;" and stating that "our problem is almost entirely from internal subversion."

Christian Freedom Foundation -- Founder and head is Howard Kershner, who has said: "In a real sense, the Communists have taken over our country." The Treasurer is Norman Vincent Peale. In addition to a regular radio program and a syndicated column by Kershner which goes free to almost 700 papers, the Foundation publishes its own fortnightly, Christian Economics, which is sent free to about 200,000 ministers. It has called TVA "socialism" and urban renewal "Marxism;" it has opposed social security and foreign aid; proposed that Communist nations "be driven from the UN," and has

charged that "for many years the Marxists in Washington have been following the policy of appeasement."

Christian Nationalist Crusade -- The principal organizational vehicle of long-time anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith. Smith's magazine, The Cross and the Flag, is the official publication of the Crusade and the Crusade's first "principle" is listed as: "Preserve America as a Christian Nation, being conscious of the fact that there is a highly organized campaign to substitute Jewish tradition for Christian tradition."

Church League of America -- Founded in 1937 and now headed by Maj. Edgar Bundy who also works closely with Rev. Carl McIntire. Like the latter, Bundy is a leading critic of the National Council of Churches, and has said that "Communism and theological modernism are as one." He has attacked the Girl Scout Handbook as "un-American," exposed John Foster Dulles as a "friend of long standing" of Alger Hiss, and has urged U. S. withdrawal from the United Nations. The Church League warns that "Marxian Socialism is a growing force in this nation" and contends that "free enterprise is the only economic foundation upon which free institutions . . . can satisfactorily survive." Bundy is an active lecturer and the League sells and distributes films, tapes and other materials, and publishes a monthly News and Views.

Circuit Riders -- Founded in late 1951 to oppose Communism "and extreme Socialism" in the Methodist Church, Circuit Riders has broadened its interests to include other denominations in subsequent years. It specializes in "compilations" of the alleged subversive affiliations of various groups of clergymen, and its attack on 30 of the 95 Men Who Gave Us the Revised Standard Version of the Bible figured prominently in the famed Air Force Manual incident of a few years ago. Its Executive Secretary is Myers Lowman, who has spoken at Hargis meetings, and an early President was John Satterfield, more recently a leading figure in the fight against civil rights legislation.

Citizens Councils of America -- The federation of state White Citizens Councils and similar organizations, representing 11 southern states. Organized in early 1956, the federation publishes a monthly magazine, The Citizen, which follows the far-right line on many things beside segregation; and it has a radio-television series called the Citizens Council Forum, which also touches on much beside the race issue. The Administrator of the federation, William J. Simmons, contends that, in addition to integration, "welfare statism, . . . replacement of a salvational by a social gospel, the collectivization of American life, confiscatory taxes, all are components of a total, all-out assault against American conservatism."

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee/For America -- Organized in late 1958, CFAC describes itself as "crusading to kill the Foreign Aid program." Its top leadership is made up of Walter Harnischfeger, Milwaukee manufacturer and active rightist; Gen. Bonner Fellers, Birch Society Endorser; and Clarence Manion, Birch Society Council member. In addition, 16 of the other 44 members of CFAC's National Committee are connected with the John Birch Society. In addition to its weekly newsletter, Facts on Foreign Aid, CFAC presents testimony regularly urging the cutback or elimination of aid funds. For America was organized earlier (May, 1954) and after some reorganizations, ended up with J. Bracken Lee as Chairman, Clarence Manion as Vice-Chairman, and Gen. Fellers as National Director. In 1957 it was pushing four constitutional amendments, including repeal of the income tax. By 1962 Gen. Fellers was confirming that For America and Citizens Foreign Aid Committee had "joined hands . . . in a single objective effort against foreign aid."

Common Sense -- Begun in mid-1947, this is the publication of anti-Semite Conde McGinley's Christian Educational Association, and has continued since McGinley's death last year. A 1961 issue stated that Jews "are the 'chosen people' who founded communism and spread it throughout the world." The staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities characterized Common Sense, in a 1954 Preliminary Report, as carrying "some of the most vitriolic hate propaganda ever to come to the attention of the committee."

Courtney "complex" -- Kent and Phoebe Courtney, two leading John Birch Society boosters, operate out of New Orleans. They publish a paper called The Independent American and a series of tracts called Tax-Fax which include such titles as "Urban Renewal - A Socialist Scheme," "Medicare: A Socialist Fraud," "The United Nations - A Smokescreen for Communist Aggression," and "Rockefeller Now Controls U. S. Foreign Policy." The Courtneys charge that "the Socialist-Internationalist-Communists took over control of both the Democrat and Republican parties in 1933". At one time they suspected even Sen. Goldwater of being "tainted by Socialism," but they have regained their enthusiasm for him this year. Since 1961 the Courtneys have also operated the Conservative Society of America, which rates Senators and Congressmen from an even more doctrinaire right-wing position than ACA.

Daughters of the American Revolution, National Defense Committee -- One of the DAR's specialized committees, NDC distributes reprints of right-wing materials -- including "The Scoreboard" from the Birch Society's American Opinion; Rosalie Gordon's Nine Men Against America; Willis Stone on Urban Renewal; Fred Clark on the "Socialist" income tax; and articles from American Mercury, Christian Crusade, and Human Events. NDC also carries on a textbook review program and has found that "only one in five" meets "minimum D. A. R. standards." In recent years NDC has given special attention to showings of the controversial film, "Operation Abolition," in conjunction with a "Study Course on Communism" prepared by the NDC.

Foundation for Economic Education -- Organized in 1946, FEE is based on the premise that: "There are two great, basic, opposing philosophies in the world today," collectivism and individualism, and it is dedicated to making the case for individual liberty -- largely in terms of what it calls "Libertarian economics" (one critic suggested that the term "propertarian" would be more accurate). Leonard Read is the founder and still President, and the

Board of Trustees reads like a "who's who" of corporate conservatism, including: William Coberly of California Cotton Oil, Jasper Crane of Dupont, Robert Gaylord of Ingersoll Milling, Pierre Goodrich, Roger Milliken of Deering Milliken, Ben Moreell of Jones and Laughlin Steel (and ACA), J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil, publisher Eugene Pulliam, and Robert W. Stoddard of Wyman-Gordon. At least four of these are connected with the John Birch Society. Since mid-1954 FEE has published The Freeman, a monthly magazine, as well as pamphlets and flyers, such as one series called "Cliche's of Socialism". Among the books pushed by and available from FEE are: Henry Hazlitt's Economics in One Lesson, Frank Chodorov's Rise and Fall of Society, Garet Garrett's The People's Pottage, F. A. Hayek's Road to Serfdom, Clarence Manion's Key to Peace, The Admiral's Log by Ben Moreell, Hans Sennholz's How Can Europe Survive?, and V. Orval Watts' Should We Strengthen the United Nations? All of these are on the "Approved List" of the John Birch Society.

Freedom School -- Founded and headed by Robert LeFevre, a long-time right-wing figure who is reportedly "against elections . . . because the results don't please everybody," and who (like Maj. Bundy) gained national fame with an attack on the Girl Scout Handbook. Freedom School uses as its slogan the words, "Private Property Is a Total Concept," and, like the Foundation for Economic Education, specializes in what is called "libertarian /i.e., extreme laissez-faire/ economics." Its interlocks with the John Birch Society and other far-right organizations are even larger than those of FEE, however. For example, about one-third of those listed as Freedom School's "National Board of Fellows" in the late 1950's have also been affiliated with the John Birch Society. Similarly, of its nine current Trustees, four are leaders of the Birch Society. In addition to its regular "school" sessions, the operation has special courses for business executives, both in-plant and at its Colorado Springs "campus." It publishes books and pamphlets and now has a regular tabloid, Pine Tree, edited by J. John Lewis who was formerly with J. Bracken Lee's American Statesman.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge -- Set up in 1949 "to encourage and reward . . . efforts to preserve and extend the American Way of life," Freedoms Foundation has former Presidents Dwight Eisenhower and Herbert Hoover as "Honorary Chairman" and "Honorary President," respectively. Its actual founders, however, were public relations man Don Belding, businessman Edward F. Hutton, and management specialist Kenneth Wells. Wells is the executive officer and a frequent speaker at ultra-conservative affairs. (At one "Project Alert" he turned to the TV cameras and yelled: "I want to talk to you Marxists and traitors out there! . . . Get the message, Comrades. This country's 20-year Rip Van Winkle sleep is over.") Ostensibly, Freedoms Foundation is purely patriotic, but analysis of the pattern of its awards indicates a distinct right-ward bias. Thus, awards have gone to such organizations as: American Economic Foundation, Foundation for Economic Education, Free Enterprise Bureau of Joe Crail's Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association, National Education Program at Harding College (repeatedly), and the segregationist Southern States Industrial Council. Individuals receiving awards have included Birch Society Council members Tom Anderson and Clarence Manion as well as such well-known right-wing figures as: Ralph de Toledano, Gen. Bonner Fellers, Rev. James Fifield, Paul Harvey, Howard Kershner, Adm. Ben Moreell, Westbrook Pegler, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, columnist George Todd, and Gen. Albert Wedemeyer. Possibly most revealing of the bias was Freedoms Foundation's award to "Communism on the Map," the filmstrip which is based largely on the doctrines of the Blue Book of the John Birch Society.

Human Events -- Founded in 1944 under the patronage of Gen. Robert Wood and several other former members of the America First Committee, Human Events was headed by Frank Hanighen until his death earlier this year. Prior to 1962 it was a newsletter, but it has changed to a tabloid format and now is available on newsstands as well as by subscription. Down through the years it has urged that the Post Office be sold to private enterprise; called Walter Reuther "a ruthless labor dictator and one of the most mischievous Socialist leaders in the country;" referred to "the ugly activity of the bus-riding integrationist agitators;" lumped together "the leftists, the one-worlders, the modern educationists;" and warned that "The Reds and Pinks are out in the open proclaiming their godless religion and waving a red flag or a mongrel one from the rooftops." Human Events has also sponsored a series of Political Action Conferences at which the keynote speech is always given by Adm. Ben Moreell of ACA, and for which the main speaker has often been Senator Goldwater.

Intercollegiate Society of Individualists -- ISI was organized in 1953 by Frank Chodorov (who has called the income tax "the root of all evil" and public schools "a socialized or politically monopolized institution"), with the aid of Human Events (which furnished temporary office space) and the Foundation for Economic Education (which provided most of the printed materials and did the mailing). It now has its own office in Philadelphia and an Executive Secretary, E. Victor Milione. ISI has its own publications, notably The Individualist and Campus Report, as well as distributing large quantities of printed material from FEE and other sources. It emphasizes the organization of conservative clubs on college campuses and operates a speakers' bureau to provide conservative lecturers. It thus serves as a sort of senior "intellectual" companion to the openly-political Young Americans for Freedom and the two organizations appear to have substantially overlapping membership. Five of ISI's seven "Advisers" are officers or endorsers of the John Birch Society.

John Birch Society -- The action group founded and led by Robert H. W. Welch who is probably best-known for having once called President Dwight Eisenhower a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy," and who evidently sticks by his characterization of both John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen Dulles as "a Communist agent" and a "supporter of communism," respectively (see published version of The Politician, pp. 223 and 227). In addition to its monthly Bulletin for members, JBS publishes American Opinion magazine for the general public.

Liberty Lobby -- First proposed in 1957 by Willis Carto, of San Francisco, who continues as Treasurer, Liberty Lobby is nominally headed by Curtis Dall, of Philadelphia. Its Executive Secretary is W. B. Hicks, former business manager of Human Events. Liberty Lobby's "Board of Policy" has included such officers and endorsers of the Birch Society as Tom Anderson, Billy James Hargis, A. G. Heinsohn, the late Merwin K. Hart, J. Bracken Lee, Gen. Sumter Lowry, Mrs. Seth Milliken, R. Carter Pittman, and Edwin L. Wiegand. The monthly Liberty Letter reports on legislation and follows a far-right line. Earlier this year, Liberty Lobby published a booklet titled The Ev and Charley Show, which attacked Minority Leaders Dirksen and Halleck from the right. For example, it referred to Dirksen's "slippery ability to be all things to all men" and said Halleck "cannot seem to muster enough backbone and statesmanship to place his country and party above petty partisanship." A little later, it published a slashing campaign tabloid called "LBJ: A Political Biography."

Liebman "complex" -- Marvin Liebman is an ex-Communist who is now a New York public relations man and active organizer of political and semi-political operations. He works very closely with William Buckley and other editors of the National Review magazine. Five Liebman operations were included in this study and they are discussed below. In addition, he was active in the formation of Young Americans for Freedom, a Goldwater booster group; and, in mid-1963, he organized the Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow, to oppose the test-ban agreement. Some Liebman enterprises include the following:

-- American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange -- Formerly called simply the American-Asian Educational Exchange and now headed by former Congressman Walter Judd (R-Minn.), but with Liebman as Executive Secretary. Primarily devoted to pleading the cause of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese regime, the tax-exempt organization has also distributed copies of a defense of South Africa by its Minister of Foreign Affairs in a speech before the U. N., and a pamphlet published by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists called "Resistance or Death? The Perils of Surrender Propaganda." Last year's investigation of foreign lobbying activities by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee revealed that Liebman works closely with the Hamilton Wright public relations organization, which represents both Nationalist China and the Union of South Africa.

-- American Jewish League Against Communism -- President of the League is Roy Cohn, former aide to Sen. Joe McCarthy; Treasurer is Mrs. Alfred Kohlberg, widow of the man who used to be known as "Mr. China Lobby"; and Executive Secretary is Liebman. A leader of the League on the West Coast was Rabbi Max Merritt, who spoke well of the John Birch Society (see JBS Bulletin, March, 1961). The League "seeks to mobilize and articulate the American -Jewish community's vigorous opposition to Communism in all its manifestations both at home and abroad." Nearly half of the League's 1962 budget went in a contribution to National Review for an "article on communism," according to its Form 990A return for that year.

-- Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations. This is Liebman's most successful effort, and counts Democratic Senators Paul Douglas and Thomas Dodd among the members of its Steering Committee, along with Congressmen of other philosophies. While the Committee, like other Liebman operations, distributes reprints and pamphlets, a central interest appears to be securing the adherence of members of Congress to a statement opposing any compromise on the issue of Chinese representation in the U. N. On at least one occasion, Liebman and the Committee urged that the U. S. consider withdrawal from the U. N. if we should be defeated on this issue. It is also of interest that it was the Committee of One Million which commissioned and underwrote Edward Hunter's Black Book on Red China (Hunter is the self-styled expert on "brainwashing" who works closely with Billy James Hargis).

-- American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters -- Started in late 1961 to oppose United Nations policy in the Congo (and U. S. support of that policy), the Committee is headed by Max Yergan, who works with Liebman in other organizations and is on the state central committee of New York's Conservative Party. In addition to full-page ads in newspapers with long lists of "sponsors" (almost a Liebman "trade-mark"), the Katanga operation distributed a report of the Congo situation by sociologist Ernest van den Haag, which was challenged by spokesmen for the U. N. (see N. Y. Times 3/29/62).

-- Committee for the Monroe Doctrine -- Set up in late 1962 to protest the Kennedy Administration's Cuba policy in the period after the missile crisis, this one is headed by Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, frequent right-wing speaker and a major financial contributor to New York's Conservative Party. Listed with Rickenbacker were Admiral Ben Moreell, Charles Edison, and William F. Buckley, Jr. One advertisement of the Committee, urging action on the Cuban problem, was headlined ". . . If need be with bayonets fixed."

Life Line -- Under the patronage and supervision of oil billionaire H. L. Hunt, Life Line provides a radio commentary daily over more than 300 stations, a newsletter published three times a week, and a sort of book club, as well as urging listeners to form "Constructive Clubs" for direct action. Lumping together "all enemies of freedom -- Communists, Fellow Travelers, etc." as "The Mistaken," Life Line says that the United Nations is "under the domination of the Soviet and pro-Soviet 'neutrals;'" that foreign aid is "subsidizing socialism in many countries;" that the October, 1962 missile confrontation over Cuba "looks like a victory but . . . it is a defeat;" and urges the curtailment or discontinuance of "farm plans, aid to education, huge highway spending, urban renewal . . . and other services."

Manion Forum -- The weekly radio program of a John Birch Society Council member, Clarence Manion, it is heard over about 250 stations. During the last year, guest speakers on the program have attacked: the test-ban treaty, the United Nations, the Federal farm pro-

gram; foreign aid, the Supreme Court, the civil rights bill, and school textbooks -- among other things. In addition to a galaxy of the most conservative members of Congress, speakers have included representatives of the American Security Council, America's Future, the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, and the Southern States Industrial Council. In addition to the weekly radio show, the Forum publishes a monthly newsletter and Manion is active on the lecture circuit.

National Economic Council -- Founded and headed until his death in late 1962 by Merwin K. Hart, who was characterized by the Anti-Defamation League as "a long-time anti-Semite," NEC publishes a semi-monthly Economic Council Letter and occasionally presents testimony to Congress on proposed legislation. It has charged that: "All branches of American life . . . have been infiltrated by Communists;" that "the Zionists . . . became responsible for Hitler's going berserk;" that the Supreme Court, under Warren, is "one of the strongest allies Moscow has in America;" and that the "real holders of power" are the "leftist elite," headed by the Council on Foreign Relations.

National Education Program -- Located on the campus of Harding College at Searcy, Ark., NEP is headed by Harding's President, George S. Benson. In addition to its annual "Freedom Forum" programs, NEP turns out a wealth of films and printed materials, publishes a newsletter and distributes a regular newspaper column by Dr. Benson. As a result of all this activity, it has been characterized as "the academic seat of the Far Right." NEP's Vice-President is retired Gen. William P. Campbell, who is also linked to Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade and to We, The People! Benson has plugged the John Birch Society and continues to maintain his agreement with "the original basic stated aims" of the Society, though not with its "harsh criticism of President Eisenhower." Probably the most widely utilized product of NEP is its filmstrip, "Communism on the Map," produced under the direction of JBS member Glenn Green (then on the NEP staff) and based largely on The Blue Book of the Birch Society. NEP warns that the U. S. is threatened by a fifth-column made up of "hard-core Communists supported by ten times as many fellow-travelers;" criticizes the graduated income tax; says that "freedoms so vigorously fought for and dearly won are being leeched away by numerous welfare schemes that appeal to the apathetic;" and calls for "halting the disease of government handouts."

National Review -- Founded and edited by William F. Buckley, Jr., author of God and Man at Yale, the National Review is a bi-weekly "journal of fact and opinion." In alternate weeks, an 8-page National Review Bulletin is published. While Birch Society leader Robert Welch claims to have been one of the first stockholders in the Buckley effort, National Review has since charged that Welch "is damaging the cause of anti-Communism" and, like Senator Goldwater, has urged the Society to reject Welch's "false counsels." The Buckley magazine has been zealously campaigning for Goldwater since 1958 (it almost claims to have "discovered" him), and its publisher, William Rusher, played a key role in the draft-Goldwater campaign of 1963-64. As befits their dissatisfaction with the "Eastern establishment" forces in the Republican Party, the National Review editors and sponsors are aligned solidly with the Conservative Party in New York state.

In its initial issue, in late 1955, National Review listed as among its basic convictions: "The growth of government . . . must be fought relentlessly . . . . We consider 'coexistence' with communism neither desirable nor possible, nor honorable. . . . [An] identifiable team of Fabian operators is bent on controlling both our major political parties . . . . It would make greater sense to grant independence to each of our 48 states than to surrender U. S. sovereignty to a world organization." Though certainly at a more sophisticated level, National Review reflects most of the standard phobias of the right-wing. Thus it has been highly critical of U. S. foreign policy, of the United Nations, of foreign aid, and of the Supreme Court under Warren; and it has opposed such legislation as the test-ban treaty, the civil rights bill, medical care under Social Security, farm price supports and urban renewal.

Dan Smoot -- A former FBI agent, Smoot served as commentator on H. L. Hunt's "Facts Forum" (predecessor of Life Line) before establishing his own radio series and newsletter, The Dan Smoot Report, in mid-1955. From 1955 to 1957 he served also as co-chairman of For America. In his first issue, Smoot made it clear that in his view the U. S. is "headed for a slave society, whether you want to call it socialism, welfare-statism, communism, fascism, modern liberalism, New Dealism, Middle of the Roadism, or by some more ancient name." The titles of some of his reports provide additional insight into his point of view: Invisible Government [the Council on Foreign Relations], Get the U. S. Out of the U. N., Repeal the Income Tax, Foreign Aid Is Killing America, Urban Renewal and a Soviet America, and Communism in the Civil Rights Movement. His weekly commentary is heard on more than 100 radio and TV stations.

20th Century Reformation Hour -- Now heard daily on more than 600 stations, this is the radio commentary of Rev. Carl McIntire, who also publishes the weekly Christian Beacon, which says that it "is in the forefront of the battle against modernism, apostasy, Communism, and a one-world church." McIntire is also a leader in the fundamentalist American Council of Christian Churches and International Council of Christian Churches -- founded to oppose the National Council of Churches of Christ and the World Council of Churches. His attacks on the National Council of Churches and "modernist" Protestant leaders have largely replaced an earlier concern with the Roman Catholic church, which he called (in the mid-1940's) "the greatest enemy of freedom and liberty that the world has had to face today." However, he still works closely with Harvey Springer, the Colorado evangelist, whose Western Voice continues as an important vehicle of anti-Catholic articles. In addition to attacks on the National Council of Churches, which he says has "turned into a political action assembly" and "envisions a one-world church, a one-world government, and a one-world race;" McIntire has charged that the leaders of the World Council of Churches are "deeply

implicated in Communist strategy;" says that "Christians should not accept" the Revised Standard Version of the Bible (which he calls "the NCC Bible"); and has charged evangelist Billy Graham with "endorsement and support of the Russian Baptists whose leaders are the tools and agents of the Kremlin." In the secular field, McIntire has attacked the United Nations and UNICEF, the test-ban treaty, the income tax, medical care under Social Security, the civil rights movement, and the Supreme Court. He speaks well of the John Birch Society, though not a member, and has assisted the careers of such prominent right-wing figures as: Maj. Edgar Bundy, of the Church League; Rev. Billy James Hargis, of the Christian Crusade; and Dr. Fred Schwarz, of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

APPENDIX C

THE "TOP TEN" OPERATIONS IN RANK ORDER OF INCOME SIZE, 1958, 1960 AND 1962

1958	1960	1962
Found'n. for Economic Education	Freedoms Found'n., Valley Forge	20th Century Reformation Hour
Christian Freedom Found'n.	Christian Crusade (Hargis)	Human Events
National Review	Human Events	Life Line
Human Events	Found'n. for Economic Education	John Birch Society
Freedoms Found'n., Valley Forge	American Economic Foundation	Christian Crusade (Hargis)
American Economic Found'n.	Life Line	Christian Anti-Comm'sm Crusade
Manion Forum	Manion Forum	Freedoms Found'n., Valley Forge
Christian Crusade (Hargis)	20th Century Reformation Hour	National Review
America's Future	National Review	Manion Forum
Citizens' Councils of America	Christian Anti-Comm'sm Crusade	Found'n. for Economic Education

Source: Based on data presented in Table 1.

(Group Research, Inc.)

See also C.K.K., 11-30-67

THE FINANCES OF THE RIGHT WING -- A Supplement

(This updates and adds information to Special Report #16, dated 9/1/64; it should be inserted in the Directory immediately following that report.)

The Data Lag and Related Problems

As was noted at the outset of this Special Report, reliable information on size and finances is a chronic problem to those who study political and economic movements. A further complication is the lengthy delay entailed in securing such information as is available, especially when a number of different operations are concerned, and putting it on some basis of comparability for purposes of analysis.

The largest single source of data in this report is the informational returns filed by tax-exempt organizations with the Internal Revenue Service, a portion of which are available for public inspection. Almost a half-a-year lapses before these reports are required, under the law; and a similar period is quite likely to pass before they become available to the lay public. (In part this latter delay is due to the time consumed in IRS processing and filing of the reports; but it is not infrequently true that the reports were not actually filed on time and there is delay while IRS secures the delinquent material.)

Putting the data on a comparable basis also contributes to the time-lag. Where an organization utilizes a fiscal year that ends in mid-calendar year, it is necessary to wait an extra six or so months to obtain the data necessary for adjusting to the previous calendar year. But such an adjustment is required if the trend over time is to be recorded for the full range of operations. The lag is not great for all organizations and so, as in Table 3 in the earlier report, figures on a number of the organizations are presented for the most recent complete year and a further effort to make an "informed guess" about current figures is indulged in.

Expanded Scope

The central purpose of this Supplement is to carry forward the financial data reported more than three years ago. However, it has also proved possible to increase substantially the number of operations included in the survey. Twenty-eight of the thirty operations which were included in the earlier report are also included in this Supplement. The two which have been dropped are Circuit Riders, Inc., which failed to file any informational returns with Internal Revenue after that for 1962 and which has had its tax-exempt status revoked by IRS; and the National Economic Council, which has stopped filing quarterly reports with Congress under the Lobbying Act, although there does not appear to be any change in the character of its operations.

Offsetting the deletion of two operations, twelve have been added to bring the total up to forty. These include a few which were formed in the aftermath of the Goldwater defeat but are largely organizations which have been on the scene all along. The most important addition is that of Young Americans for Freedom, which has begun filing financial reports with the State of New York. Appendix BB provides identifying notes on the twelve operations not previously included and on operations which have been added to prior categories.

As in the initial list of thirty, the additions vary widely in viewpoint, type of activity, and extremity of views. The caveats made at page 3 above are equally applicable to this Supplement.

Growth, 1963 - 1965

Table 5 presents the data on all forty operations for the years 1963 thru 1965. The combined totals rose from $15 million to $21.3 million, a percentage increase of more than 40% for the period, with the largest portion of that growth taking place between 1963 and 1964. For purposes of comparison with the earlier data, particularly the projected 1963 figure given in Table 3, on page 8, it should be noted that for the twenty-eight of the original thirty operations which are included in Table 5, the combined total is $14.1 million. This indicates that the earlier projection was reasonably close.

A comparison of specific figures for 1963 in Table 5 with those in Table 3, however, will show some substantial variations. Information which became available subsequent to preparation of the earlier report led to these revisions -- most striking in the cases of the John Birch Society and Carl McIntire's 20th Century Reformation Hour. In the cases of Life Line, the American Economic Foundation, and Freedoms Foundation, the figures in Table 3 were partially estimated and reports becoming subsequently available allowed revisions of these figures (downward in the first two instances, and upward in the third).

Comparing the growth rate over the period 1963-5 with that registered earlier, the combined total rose by more than 25% between 1963 and 1964, the third largest percentage rate of increase for the entire period studied, 1955 to date. Between 1964 and 1965 the rate was just over 11%. The pattern is consistent with that generally assumed for the period and reflected in another indicator, periodical circulation growth (see Sec 4 - Special Report #19): an impressive growth accompanying the 1964 presidential campaign followed by further growth, but at a slower rate.

Table 6 gives the 1966 figures for twenty-one of the operations. If these are representative of the group as a whole, the projection for all forty for 1966 is $22.5 million, a 6 1/2% increase over the 1965 total.

Rankings

Between 1962 and 1965 there were some changes in relative position of the largest operations but the same eleven organizations were at the top in both years. The John Birch Society continued to grow more rapidly than the others during the three-year period and was at the

head of the list in both 1964 and 1965 (and almost certainly in 1966 as well). National Review moved up four slots and took over fourth position, almost back to its 1958 position. The most dramatic relative decline was exhibited by Life Line and by Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, each of which dropped four positions in the rankings. The only change in the names of the "top ten" was the American Economic Foundation's rise from 11th to 9th place, while the Foundation for Economic Education dropped from 10th to 11th.

Of the forty operations in Table 5, six exhibited a decline over all three years: America's Future, American Economic Foundation, Common Sense (with its 1966 budget estimated at less than one-fourth of its 1963 budget), the DAR's National Defense Committee, the Foundation for Economic Education, and the Foundation for Foreign Affairs. Only one of these, it might be noted, is in the ranks of the top ten, as of 1965.

Exhibiting unusual growth over the period studied, in addition to the John Birch Society, were Liberty Lobby (which moved from the smallest of the thirty operations included in Table 1 to the fifteenth spot in Table 5), Hargis's Christian Crusade (recovering after a decline in 1962 and 1963), the American Security Council (which has added a daily radio program, among other things), and Young Americans for Freedom (which more than doubled its budget between 1963 and 1965).

Supporters

Pages 10 thru 16 of the prior report provided data on a variety of major financial supporters of the operations covered in this study. These continue to be important sources of funds. In addition, the expanded scope of the present supplement, along with the continuing study of such public sources as the Form 990A returns filed by tax-exempt organizations, make it possible to add the following to the previous list. (See also Group Research Report 4/29/67 and 10/13/67 on "Foundation Financing on the Right.") It should be stressed that the tax-exempt foundations mentioned below generally make the preponderance of their grants to philanthropies with little or no political or economic connotations. Their inclusion in this list is likely to be based on their importance as a source of support to the various conservative and right-wing operations covered by the study, not necessarily on the importance of that support in the total pattern of the foundation's giving.

Fred C. Andersen -- President of a window manufacturing firm in Bayport, Minn., Andersen and his wife gave $5,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action in 1966. The Bayport Foundation, which he heads, during the four fiscal years 1962-5, gave $10,000 to Human Events, $2,000 to Young Americans for Freedom, $1,500 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, $1,000 to America's Future, $800 to Marvin Liebman's Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the U. N., and smaller amounts to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and the Foundation for Economic Education.

Badger Meter Manufacturing Co. -- This Milwaukee firm's tax-exempt Charles W. Wright Foundation, during the three years 1963-5, gave $3,500 to Rampart College, $1,400 to the American Economic Foundation, and small grants to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and to Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

F. A. Bean Foundation -- This tax-exempt Minneapolis organization is named for the late head of International Milling Co., and headed by his two sons. During the four years 1962-5 it gave $2,500 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, $2,000 to Human Events (the Bean Family had been listed as "Charter Subscribers" by that periodical), $1,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, $1,000 to Harding College, and a $500 grant to America's Future.

Louis D. Beaumont Foundation -- Headed by Cleveland attorney Edgar A. Hahn, this tax-exempt organization, during the three years 1963-5, gave $30,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and $15,000 to Harding College. (It should be noted that the Beaumont Foundation also makes grants to liberal and civil rights groups.)

Evelyn Smith Beck -- During the two years 1964-5, she gave $1,482 to Americans for Constitutional Action and $1,062 to Liberty Lobby. E. H. Smith, at the same address and phone in Alamo, California, gave $110 to American Conservative Union in 1966. Earlier during the three years 1961-3, Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade reported a total of $2,670 from "E. Beck, Alamo, Calif."

Beeghly Family -- Leon A. Beeghly, head of Standard Slag Co., of Youngstown, Ohio, was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events and more recently listed as a member of the periodical's fund-raising Hanighen-Wick Memorial Fund. The tax-exempt Leon A. Beeghly Fund, operated by three sons, gave $68,000 to Circuit Riders, Inc. during the three years 1963-5, and $4,500 to Educational Reviewer in the same period. (It also gave $3,000 to the Committee for Constitutional Government.) Another son, Charles M. Beeghly, chief executive of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Co., gave a total of $2,250 to Americans for Constitutional Action during the period 1963 to mid-1967.

Bodman Foundation -- During the three years 1962-5, this tax-exempt New York organization gave $15,000 to the Foundation for Economic Education and $10,000 each to America's Future and Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

William H. Brady, Jr. -- Head of a Milwaukee firm which manufactures "pressure sensitive tape products, identification and labeling systems," etc., Brady is a Director of the American Conservative Union and contributed $600 to it in 1965. He has also contributed to Americans for Constitutional Action ($350 in 1966), is a member of Human Events' fund-raising Hanighen-Wick Memorial Foundation, and has served on the Advisory Board for Wisconsin YAF (Young Americans for Freedom). His firm, the W. H. Brady Co., advertises regularly in National Review. The tax-exempt W. H. Brady Foundation, during the three fiscal years 1963-5, gave $5,000 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, $1,500 to the Foundation for Economic Education, and smaller amounts to Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Educational Reviewer, and

TABLE 5

ANNUAL INCOME OF FORTY SELECTED OPERATIONS,

1963-1965

(thousands of dollars)	1963	1964	1965
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY	1,600.0	3,200.0	4,089.0
20TH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR (McIntire)[a]	2,300.0	3,000.0	3,040.0
HUMAN EVENTS[a]	927.3	1,141.0	1,236.5
NATIONAL REVIEW[a]	763.7	988.0	1,137.0
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE (Hargis)	677.2	834.2	1,106.9
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE[b]	795.6	996.5	1,021.9
LIFE LINE[a, b]	1,026.6	1,045.3	951.6
MANION FORUM[a]	642.5	787.5	782.5
AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION[b, c]	776.8	740.9	666.9
CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE (Schwarz)	573.8	616.5	604.0
FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION[b]	651.6	623.2	584.8
AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL[a]	268.0	350.0	550.0
DAN SMOOT REPORT[a]	451.8	499.2	501.4
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM[b]	191.3	364.6	469.6
LIBERTY LOBBY	60.5	346.5	434.2
CHRISTIAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION (Kershner)	329.2	233.5	412.5
FREE SOCIETY ASSOCIATION[a]	--	--	350.0
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE (G.L.K. Smith)	288.7	315.5	325.0
"COURTNEY COMPLEX"[a, d]	281.0	300.0	310.0
BIBLE INSTITUTE OF THE AIR (Dr. Burpo)	212.0	233.8	257.4
INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE[a, b, e]	202.4	199.9	245.6
AMERICA'S FUTURE	264.0	252.6	244.8
FREEDOM SCHOOL/RAMPART COLLEGE	160.2	189.4	241.4
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	235.1	208.1	237.1
AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION	--	10.0	209.0
NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM (Harding College)[b]	139.8	143.3	183.7
SOUTHERN STATES INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL	127.9	136.4	148.9
"LIEBMAN COMPLEX"[a, b, f]	193.3	113.7	141.2
AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION	84.9	187.4	123.0
CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA[a]	100.6	135.5	122.0
FOUNDATION FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	146.9	133.5	112.8
EDUCATIONAL REVIEWER[b]	110.0	131.0	112.2
COMMON SENSE[a]	161.0	149.0	85.5
D.A.R. NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE[b]	60.1	52.0	42.8
NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY	44.2	40.0	42.6
VERITAS FOUNDATION[b]	41.2	39.6	41.1
INSTITUTE FOR HUMANE STUDIES[a, b]	1.1	14.9	38.7
CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE/FOR AMERICA[a, g]	72.1	72.7	35.0
UNITED REPUBLICANS OF AMERICA[a]	--	--	28.0
CARDINAL MINDSZENTY FOUNDATION	20.3	26.5	25.4
TOTAL -- ALL OPERATIONS	14,984.6	18,851.6	21,305.5

Notes:

[a]Estimated, in whole or in part.

[b]Adjusted to calendar year basis from fiscal year basis.

[c]Including the National Schools Committee for Economic Education for 1964 and 1965.

[d]The Independent American, Conservative Society of America, and related activities of Kent and Phoebe Courtney.

[e]Formerly the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists.

(continued)

[f] Includes: American African Affairs Association (1965 on), American-Asian Educational Exchange, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters (1963 only), American Jewish League Against Communism, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and the National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow (1963 only).

[g] Combined because they have operated jointly in recent years, under the direction of Gen. Bonner Fellers.

Components do not always add to total because of rounding.

Sources: See Appendix AA for sources of data and methods of estimation utilized, if not already indicated in Appendix A.

TABLE 6

1966 INCOME OF TWENTY-ONE OPERATIONS

(thousands of dollars)

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY[a]	5,000.0
20TH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR[a]	3,100.0
NATIONAL REVIEW[a]	1,231.5
HUMAN EVENTS[a]	1,084.8
LIFE LINE[a]	1,001.6
MANION FORUM[a]	755.0
DAN SMOOT REPORT[a]	413.6
LIBERTY LOBBY	406.3
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE	339.8
BIBLE INSTITUTE OF THE AIR	308.9
"LIEBMAN COMPLEX"[a, b, f]	266.9
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	203.7
NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM[a]	196.6
AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION	181.2
SOUTHERN STATES INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL	170.1
AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION	104.7
UNITED REPUBLICANS OF AMERICA	56.0
D.A.R. NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE[b]	51.2
COMMON SENSE[a]	36.5
NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY	17.7
CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE/FOR AMERICA[a, g]	16.8
Total - 21 Operations -	14,942.6
Projected Total -- 40 Operations -	22,496.9

Notes: See Table 5

Components do not add to total because of rounding.

the Freedom School.

Mr. and Mrs. Fritz B. Burns -- Mr. Burns is a former partner of Henry Kaiser and now heads his own real estate development firm. Mrs. Burns is an active member of the John Birch Society and served on the executive committee for both the 1963 and 1965 testimonial dinners for JBS founder Robert Welch. Their tax-exempt Burns Foundation, during the two fiscal years 1963-4, gave $6,449 to Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and $1,000 to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation.

Conrad Chapman -- A Bostonian, Chapman, since 1962, has given $5,000 to American Conservative Union, $3,900 to Americans for Constitutional Action, $2,200 to Liberty Lobby, and $1,400 to United Republicans of America. He has also been listed as a major contributor ($500 or more) to the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (of which he is an Endorser) in each year, 1963-5, and has given smaller grants to For America and the short-lived Political Action Committee of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF-PAC), later absorbed by American Conservative Union.

James W. Cline -- The late J. W. Cline, a Seattle business executive, was a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and was listed as a "charter subscriber" by Human Events. He was also a contributor to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The tax-exempt James Cline Fund (now headed by his widow), in the years 1962-5, gave $11,500 to the Foundation for Economic Education, with smaller grants going to the American Economic Foundation, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and Harding College.

James S. Copley -- Head of Copley Newspapers, Inc. (a chain of nearly twenty papers in California and Illinois), Copley is a large contributor to the Republican Party ($3,000 in 1966 to three national GOP organizations). He has also contributed to Americans for Constitutional Action and is Western Regional Director of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. Over the four years 1962-5, the tax-exempt Copley Charities and Union-Tribune Charities, both of which he heads, gave a total of $87,875 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. Small grants went also to America's Future, the Manion Forum, American Economic Foundation, and Young Americans for Freedom.

Cotta Foundation -- The tax-exempt fund of a Rockford, Ill., transmission manufacturing firm, this organization, over the four years 1962-5, gave $4,500 each to American Economic Foundation and the Foundation for Economic Education, $2,500 to America's Future, $1,500 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and $750 to Robert LeFevre's Freedom School.

Endeavor Foundation -- During the two fiscal years 1963-4, this tax-exempt New York organization gave $3,000 to the American Economic Foundation, and $1,000 each to the Church League of America, Educational Reviewer, Harding College, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. Small grants went to the American Security Council, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

Falk Corporation -- A Milwaukee manufacturer of gear drives and couplings, Falk has been a regular advertiser (usually back cover or inside back cover) in the Birch Society's weekly Review of the News and in YAF's New Guard. The firm is also a long-time sponsor of conservative news broadcaster Robert Siegrist and was reported as a major contributor ($500 or more) by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee each year, 1962-4. A vice-president of the firm, John T. Brown, is a member of the Birch Society's National Council and both he and the firm's president, Harold Falk, are members of the 1976 Committee, the political action group headed by Birch leader, William Grede. Harold Falk also contributed $3,000 to the 1976 Committee during 1966-7, and at least $1,065 to Freedom School in fiscal 1964.

In addition, two tax-exempt organizations, the Harold and Suzanne Falk Foundation and the Herman W. Falk Memorial Foundation, during the three years 1963-5, made grants totalling $7,500 to Harding College, $5,250 to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade of Fred Schwarz, $3,500 to Educational Reviewer, $2,450 to the Foundation for Economic Education, $1,450 to Freedom School, and smaller grants to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, American Economic Foundation, America's Future, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, American-Asian Educational Exchange, and Institute for Humane Studies.

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin D. Gilbert -- Mrs. Gilbert has given $12,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action over the four years 1964-7, and contributed $1,000 to Liberty Lobby in 1966. Her husband, who was listed as a "Rally Sponsor" by Young Americans for Freedom in 1962, contributed to the 1965 campaign of William F. Buckley, Jr., for mayor of New York. Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert jointly contributed $1,000 to Freedom School in late 1963.

Gulf Oil Co. Foundation -- Over the four fiscal years 1963-66, this tax-exempt organization made grants totalling $20,000 to Harding College, $10,000 each to American Economic Foundation and the Foundation for Economic Education, $5,000 to America's Future, and $1,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

Hollies Family -- The Hollies family chain, Freedom Newspapers, Inc., owns or controls more than a dozen newspapers in California, Ohio and Texas. The President of the chain, Raymond C. Hollies, is on the executive committee of the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A. He is also one of the largest contributors to Robert LeFevre's Freedom School, giving $25,480 in fiscal year 1964 alone (names of contributors are not available for other years). His son, Harry H. Hollies, is a vice-president of Rampart College (successor to Freedom School), and in fiscal 1964 he contributed $5,583 plus another $4,168 for copies of LeFevre's book. The firm has also contributed to Foundation for Economic Education (at least $550 in 1965).

Henry Hottinger -- A partner in the investment firm of Wertheim and Co., Hottinger is a Trustee of America's Future, a member of the National Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom, and an Endorser of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. He was listed by the latter as a $500 contributor in 1964. In addition, the tax-exempt Cremona Fund, which he heads, during the three fiscal years 1963-5, made grants totalling $9,000 to Educational Reviewer, $6,625 to America's Future, $6,000 to Harding College, and $2,000 each to the Veritas Foundation and the American Council of Christian Laymen (now a part of

Carl McIntire's American Council of Christian Churches). Smaller grants went to the National Economic Council, Freedom School, the American Economic Foundation, the Foundation for Economic Education, and the Manion Forum.

Household Finance Corp. -- Although headquartered in Chicago, this firm has been a leading supporter of the Southern States Industrial Council, contributing $1,000 each year, at least since 1962. In addition, its tax-exempt Household Finance Foundation, during the three years 1963-5, made grants totalling $32,000 to the America.. Economic Foundation, $2,000 to the Foundation for Economic Education, $1,500 to America's Future, and $1,400 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. Smaller grants went to Human Events and the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange.

Hufty Family -- Page Hufty, a financier of Washington, D. C., and Palm Beach, Fla., is on Human Events' fund-raising Hanighen-Wick Memorial Fund. The tax-exempt Hufty Foundation, of which he and his wife are trustees, during the four years 1962-5, gave $10,500 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, $2,100 to America's Future, and $1,000 to the American Economic Foundation. Son John A. Hufty has been reported as a contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action (at least $700 during the period 1964-6).

Jaquelin Hume -- Head of a food preserving firm (Basic Vegetable Products), Hume was a member of the California Goldwater delegation to the 1964 Republican convention. His tax-exempt Jaquelin Hume Foundation, during the three fiscal years 1964-6, gave $10,000 to the Foundation for Economic Education and $2,000 to the Institute for Humane Studies.

C. C. Moseley -- Head of the Grand Central Industrial Centre in Glendale, Calif., Moseley is on the Executive Committee of the Liberty Amendment Committee (pushing for income tax repeal), and his firm advertises regularly in the Committee's magazine, Freedom. He is also on the Advisory Board of H. L. Hunt's Life Lines and an endorser of the Manion Forum. He is listed by Human Events as a "charter subscriber" and is on the publication's fund-raising Hanighen-Wick Memorial Fund. He regularly mails reprints of conservative and right-wing materials to the members of Congress. He has contributed to Americans for Constitutional Action (at least $500 during the period 1964-7) and the American Conservative Union ($100 in 1966).

His tax-exempt Moseley Foundation, during the four years 1962-5, gave $2,000 to the American Council of Christian Laymen, $1,100 to Harding College, and $1,000 to American Economic Foundation. Smaller grants went to America's Future, Hargis's Christian Crusade, the Americanism Educational League, Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and McIntire's Christian Beacon. (It is the range of Moseley's support, rather than its size, which is impressive.)

Charles Stewart Mott -- A long-time executive, major stockholder, and still a director of General Motors, Mott was one of the reported contributors in the late 1950's to the fund used to circulate an attack on Walter Reuther written by right-wing pamphleteer Joseph Kamp. (See N. Y. Times 10/1/58) His tax-exempt Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, during 1964-5, gave $10,000 to Harding College, $6,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, $2,500 to the American Economic Foundation, $2,000 each to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and the Foundation for Economic Education, and $500 to the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange of Marvin Liebman.

Dr. Thomas Parker -- A Greenville, S. C., physician, Dr. Parker is on the National Council of the John Birch Society, is a Trustee of Americans for Constitutional Action, a state chairman of the Liberty Amendment Committee, and an Endorser of the Manion Forum. He is a past president of the right-wing Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, was listed as a sponsor of the 1962 rally held by Young Americans for Freedom, and is on the 1976 Committee (headed by Birch leader William Grede). During the four years 1964-7, Parker and his family contributed a total of $11,637 to Americans for Constitutional Action. He has also given to the American Conservative Union ($100 in 1965) and the 1976 Committee ($265 in 1967).

William Penn Patrick -- Patrick's California cosmetics firm, Holiday Magic, has evidently replaced the late D. B. Lewis's pet food firm as the major sponsor of Dan Smoot's television broadcasts in California. Patrick, who ran poorly as a gubernatorial candidate in the 1966 Republican primary, was also in the news as a financial backer of the attempt to "recall" Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho). According to Robert DePugh, of the extremist Minutemen and the Patriotic Party, Patrick promised financial support also to the latter group, which nominated him for Vice-President of the U.S.

Pitcairn Family -- A Pennsylvania family whose wealth originally stemmed from the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., the Pitcairns are major financial supporters of American Conservative Union and Americans for Constitutional Action. Thus, the late Raymond Pitcairn contributed $2,000 to ACU in 1965; two sons (Garthowen and Nathan) and two daughters (Karen P. Cole and Vera P. Junge) each gave another $1,000 in the same year; and son Lachlan gave $500 in 1965, while daughter Vera gave $300 more in 1967 (total $6,800). A niece of Raymond Pitcairn, Charis (Mrs. Louis S.) Cole, is a Trustee of ACA, and she and her husband contributed $4,400 to that organization during 1963-7, plus $200 to ACU. Mrs. Cole's brother, Joel Pitcairn gave $2,800 to ACA during the years 1962-4. Cousin Vera P. Junge also gave $300 to ACA in 1967. Finally, the family's Glencairn Foundation (headed before his death in 1966 by Raymond Pitcairn), makes regular small grants ($200 a year) to the Foundation for Economic Education.

Henry Salvatori -- Founder and head of Western Geophysical Co., Salvatori has long been prominent in California anti-Communist and right-wing Republican circles. He donated $325,000 to the University of Southern California to establish a Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda, and he was the leading supporter of the Anti-Communist Voters League. In the Republican party he has been a major supporter of Goldwater, Reagan, and Max Rafferty. He contributed $5,500 to American Conservative Union during the period 1964-6, and $1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action during 1965-6. Salvatori has also been known as a Fred Schwarz backer and his tax-exempt Henry and Grace Salvatori Foundation gave $2,000 to Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in 196[illegible]. Also receiving $2,000 each during the three year period

1962-4 were Liebman's American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange and Educational Reviewer. A small grant went to America's Future one year.

Sunline Foundation -- Sunline, Inc., of St. Louis, Mo., is a candy manufacturing firm. Its tax-exempt foundation, during its first year of grant-disbursement, fiscal 1965-6, gave $9,000 to Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, $5,285 to Foundation for Economic Education, and $1,500 to Harding College's National Education Program.

Wilkie Brothers Foundation -- Headed by Leighton Wilkie, founder and head of Continental Machines, Inc., this tax-exempt organization, during the three years 1962-4, gave $15,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and $9,155 to the American Economic Foundation.

Conclusions

Information which has become available since the preparation of the initial report does not require any changes in the conclusions expressed at pages 16 and 17. The growth rate of the right side of the political and economic spectrum in the U. S. has continued to be impressive, at least through 1966. While figures for the current year are not available, there is at least one indication that right-wing growth may have reached a peak last year. A comparison of average paid circulation figures for some fourteen conservative and right-wing periodicals with second-class postal status, reflects a slight drop between 1965-6 and 1966-7, but of less than 3%. (Note also that circulation figures have grown more slowly than financial figures in earlier years. See Special Report #19, "Periodicals on the Right," page 24.)

Furthermore, even if the right wing in general does prove to have "peaked" in 1966, the magnitude achieved remains as impressive as the growth rate. If, as was hypothesized in the earlier report (pages 16-17), the operations included in this study represent only half of the total picture -- and emphasizing again that right-wing is broadly defined in this study -- then the composite income level in 1966 would be in the $40-50 million range. Obviously a movement of that size can suffer substantial attrition and still retain a great deal of impact.

Finally, with another presidential election year in the offing, it is certainly too early to speculate on whether the data indicate a "peak" to be followed by a downward trend, or a "levelling off" that may be followed by another upward surge.

(Group Research, Inc.)

Appendix AA
Sources and Methodology

The following notes indicate the sources and/or methodology utilized where the operations were not included in the earlier report or where they differed from those indicated at pages 18-19.

American Conservative Union -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives.

American Economic Foundation -- Data on the National Schools Committee for Economic Education, which is, in effect, a "spin-off" from AEF, from Form 990A informational returns filed with Internal Revenue Service.

American Security Council -- Estimated. Membership figures for each year interpolated from size reported in October, 1962 (3,300 members) and mid-1964 and mid-1966 (3,500 both times); average annual membership fee assumed to be $80 (based on estimated 1962 budget -- see page 18); additional $20,000 a month added from October, 1964 on, to allow for radio program.

Bible Institute of the Air -- Reports filed with the State of Arizona.

Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation -- Form 990A returns.

Church League of America -- Annual Reports; includes mortgage loan in 1963 and payments on it in 1965 and 1966.

"Courtney Complex" -- Estimated. Figures for 1964 and 1965 based on reported increase in paid subscribers to The Independent American (23,000 claimed by mid-1965), somewhat offset by a decline in the size of their radio "network."

Educational Reviewer -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending August 31.

Foundation for Foreign Affairs -- Form 990A returns.

Free Society Association -- Estimated. Organization began in mid-June, 1965 and a news item of 2/11/66 reported that about $400,000 had been raised. Adjusted to calendar 1965.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge -- Also included in 1964 and 1965 are figures from 990A returns filed by Freedoms Foundation Trust.

Human Events -- Estimated. Average paid circulation figures adjusted to calendar basis and used for continued extrapolation from earlier figures (see pages 18-19). Estimated advertising income (based on sample space counts for each year and statement by the publication in February, 1964, that ad income was $35,000 a year at that time) added to subscription income estimates.

Institute for Humane Studies -- Form 990A returns available for 1963, first half of 1964, and calendar 1965; missing period interpolated.

Intercollegiate Studies Institute -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending March 31 thru FY '65, then shifted to June 30 in FY '66.

1965 partially estimated (April thru June).

John Birch Society -- Figures for 1963 and 1964 as stated in JBS Bulletin, January, 1965; figure for 1965 given in ibid., May, 1966; 1966 figure is estimated by Anti-Defamation League (see Epstein and Forster, The Radical Right, p. 204).

Liberty Lobby -- Reports to Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. 1963 figure is partially estimated since reports do not indicate what portion of total budget is represented; for subsequent years they do indicate.

"Liebman Complex" -- New organizations included are American African Affairs Association (1965 on) and National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow (1963 only). For both, reports filed with New York State Department of Social Welfare are utilized.

Life Line -- Form 990A returns available only through FY ending September 30, 1964 (tax-exempt status revoked as of March 25, 1965). Budget other than air-time extrapolated through 1966 on basis of paid circulation figures for newsletter. On estimates for cost of air-time, see page 19.

National States Rights Party -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives.

Southern States Industrial Council -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives.

20th Century Reformation Hour -- Estimated. 1964 figure is that given by McIntire in a March, 1965, speech in Minneapolis (quoted by Erling Jorstad, Concern, November 1, 1965); adjusted for other years on basis of paid circulation reported by Christian Beacon and estimated average radio "network" size.

United Republicans of America -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives for 1966. 1965 figure estimated on basis of news report on membership size in August, 1965.

Veritas Foundation -- Form 990A returns for FY '63-4; reports to New York State Department of Social Welfare for FY '65-6; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending July 31.

Young Americans for Freedom -- Reports filed with New York State Department of Social Welfare, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending July 31. 1965 also includes figure from report filed by YAF-PAC (Political Action Committee) with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives.

Appendix BB
Brief Descriptions

The following are brief identifying notes on the operations added by the present Supplement.

American Conservative Union -- Organized in late 1964, ACU grew directly out of the Goldwater presidential campaign, with its central leadership representing those Goldwater supporters who might be characterized as having ties with National Review and New York State's Conservative Party. ACU's first chairman was former Congressman Donald Bruce, but he was subsequently replaced by Congressman John Ashbrook. Frankly political, ACU devotes a good deal of time to attacks on liberals within the Republican Party (publishing critical studies of the Ripon Society and of those GOP House members who provided the "Democratic Margin of Victory" on various issues). It absorbed the Political Action Committee set up by Young Americans for Freedom and this year began organizing state affiliates with an obvious eye on political action within the Republican Party. As New York's Conservative Party sees itself as a counterbalance to that state's Liberal Party, ACU sees itself as a GOP equivalent of Americans for Democratic Action, attempting to keep the party as conservative as possible.

Bible Institute of the Air -- Dr. C. W. Burpo began his "radio ministry" in 1953 in Oklahoma City, incorporating it in 1955 as the Bible Institute of the Air. In mid-1963 he moved from Oklahoma to Mesa, Arizona. His major activity is his daily radio program, carried by some 29 stations in 15 states according to a listing in July, 1967. He also publishes a newsletter, Bible Institute News. Burpo made the national news in 1963 as one of those disseminating the charge that military maneuvers in Georgia ("Operation Water Moccasin") were some sort of dress rehearsal for a United Nations "take-over" of the country. Although he has said that "John Birch people are among the finest patriots I have met," Burpo and JBS head Robert Welch came into conflict over Burpo's alliance with Korean emigre Kilsoo Haan (Welch distrusts Haan because the latter was critical of the late Syngman Rhee).

Although the Institute is tax-exempt as a "religious" organization (and not required to file annual Form 990A returns), Burpo mixes a good deal of politics with his message. Thus, his seven-point program -- "from the secular standpoint" -- to "save America" includes repeal of the income tax, withdrawal from the U. N., elimination of foreign aid, and to "eradicate socialism in America."

Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation -- Begun in mid-1958, the Mindszenty Foundation is headed by Eleanor Schlafly, sister-in-law of Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly (who acts as the Foundation's Research Director). Aimed specifically at Roman Catholics, CMF has affiliates in eight cities and forty-two "area representatives" in other parts of the country. In addition to sponsoring speakers and a radio-tape series ("Dangers of Apathy"), it publishes a monthly newsletter and a bi-monthly column ("The Red Line"). It also issues textbook reviews from time to time. Dean Clarence Manion, of the Birch Society's National Council, is a frequent speaker at CMF's annual Leadership Conference, and CMF exhibits at the annual New England Rally for God, Family and Country. It's newsletter warns of "Our Dwindling Defenses," opposes trade with the Soviet bloc, charges that we are about to "give away" the Panama Canal, and in general warns that the U. S. must not be "conspiracy blind" (i.e., fail to recognize and adequately oppose the international Communist conspiracy).

Educational Reviewer, Inc. -- Although begun in 1949, under the sponsorship of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, in Chicago, Educational Reviewer, since 1960, has been headed by Dr. Russell Kirk and had no apparent ties to CASBO. Instead it is linked closely with National Review, whose subscribers receive its quarterly publication free (its regular subscription rate is $2 a year). This quarterly, which is the organization's principal activity, is The University Bookman, a small

review journal edited by Kirk. Its circulation is listed by the 1967 edition of the Standard Periodical Directory as 100,000. In addition, Educational Reviewer does occasional surveys, two recent ones being on "books and materials in the field of Social Sciences used in Colleges and Universities throughout the United States" and on "the problems in connection with the founding, operating, accomplishments and financing of private educational institutions."

Foundation for Foreign Affairs -- Incorporated in 1945, the tax-exempt Foundation describes its purpose as "To carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of the international relations of the United States." It publishes a quarterly, Modern Age, which formerly described itself as "A Conservative Review." It is edited by the Foundation's president, Eugene Davidson, and its paid circulation averaged 5,654 last year. In addition, the Foundation sponsors or co-sponsors conferences (the 1966 one was held in Wiesbaden, Germany) and makes research grants to conservative scholars (totalling about $37,000 in 1965). Henry Regnery Co. serves as the publishing house for the "Foundation for Foreign Affairs Series" of books.

Free Society Association -- Like the American Conservative Union, FSA grew directly out of the 1964 Goldwater campaign, and it enjoyed the former Senator's personal identification -- he is Honorary Chairman and his campaign manager, Denison Kitchel, is President. FSA describes its "only function" as the "promotion of political education." This it does through its newsletter, study guides, and "background" papers. During 1966 it held a series of regional rallies and "think-ins." In his keynote speech to those meetings, Goldwater warned against the "dizzy, headlong plunge" the country is making "toward the socialization of America," though FSA's printed materials generally are a good deal more restrained in their language. In mid-1966, the Association was claiming 42,500 dues-paying members. It has recently gained tax-exempt status.

Institute for Humane Studies -- The Institute, which describes itself as "an informal graduate school," was organized in late 1961, with initial financing by the tax-exempt William Volker Fund. "The idea behind the Institute," a subsequent memo noted, "was to reverse the retreat from human liberty which has been going on for many decades in the United States and the Western World." The Volker Fund soon withdrew from the project (evidently over some internal disagreement) but the Institute secured its own tax-exempt status. Its leading figure is Floyd A. Harper, who had for many years been on the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education and is credited with having conceived the idea of the Institute. In a 1965 letter to Western Destiny magazine, Harper wrote: "If any person prefers some societal arrangement now operating in some other land, let him go there peacefully rather than to remain here and generate civil war." President of the Institute is Dr. James Doenges, of Anderson, Indiana, a state co-chairman of the Liberty Amendment Committee, and director both of Association of American Physicians and Surgeons and of We, The People!. He is also a Trustee of Rampart College (see below). Major activities of the Institute include support for libertarian scholars and sponsorship of conferences.

"Liebman Complex" -- Several changes have occurred in the complex of operations under the aegis of public relations man Marvin Liebman (see page 23 above). The American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters dissolved in early 1963 after the secession of Katanga had ended. (More recently Liebman has organized an ad hoc Tshombe Emergency Committee, but it is too new to be covered by the present supplement.) Similarly, the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine went out of existence in early 1965, being absorbed by the non-Liebman Committee on Pan American Policy.

Included in the figures in Table 5 is the National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow, which was an ad hoc operation working only during the summer of 1963 in an unsuccessful effort to secure Senate rejection of that year's test-ban treaty. Also included in both Table 5 and Table 6 is the new continuing Liebman operation:

-- American African Affairs Association -- Organized in early 1965, the Association described its purpose as "to further the cause of knowledge concerning Africa among the people of the United States." It sent fact-finding missions to Africa in 1966 and again in 1967. Both missions wrote reports generally favorable to Southern Rhodesia and unfavorable to U. S. and U. N. policies toward that country and other white African regimes. The Association also distributes other printed materials and publishes a monthly newsletter. Its co-chairmen are William Rusher, publisher of the National Review, and Max Yergan, Negro educator and "regular" on Liebman letterheads.

National Schools Committee for Economic Education -- In early 1964, those operations of the American Economic Foundation (see page 20) which aimed specifically at disseminating materials on "free enterprise economics" in the schools were set up separately as the National Schools Committee. The new organization's Chairman and Vice-Chairman, Ben Wood and Roscoe West, had both previously served in the AEF division of the same name. More significantly, the National Schools Committee's President and Treasurer, Morgan S. A. Reichner, continues as Vice-President of AEF as well. Major activity of the Committee is its workshops for teachers.

National States Rights Party -- Founded and headed by chiropractor Edward Fields, NSRP appears to have grown out of Fields's 1957 organization, the United White Party. NSRP is both racist and anti-Semitic and generally similar in style to the American Nazi Party of the late George Lincoln Rockwell. (Rockwell's successor Matt Koehl, was once NSRP's "National Organizer.") The Party's monthly newspaper, The Thunderbolt, features headlines such as "LBJ Appoints Only Jews and Negroes", "Negro is Related to Apes -- Not White People", and "Russ Daughter Guilty of Bestiality." At least one of NSRP's major contributors, W. Sutherland, Fredericksburg, Texas, is also a major contributor to Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade.

Rampart College -- In 1963 Robert LeFevre's Freedom School (see page 22) began Rampart College, which it developed into a "degree-granting" institution the following year. Since then, the tax-exempt entity has been re-named Rampart College, though Freedom School continues as the "extension program" of the school. LeFevre continues to be the leading figure and the Board of Trustees continues to include a number of people also associ-

ated with the Birch Society, including William Grede, Chairman of the JBS Executive Committee. Although Rampart offers both "Master's" and "Doctor's" degrees, its 1967 Bulletin states that it "has not yet applied for accreditation from any accrediting association." In addition to its teaching activities, it publishes a monthly newsletter and has begun a quarterly journal.

Southern States Industrial Council -- Set up in the early 1930's in reaction to the New Deal, SSIC now describes its "fundamental purpose" as "to restore and preserve for future generations the traditional American free enterprise system." It opposes "all federal subsidies except those necessary for national defense," is against the union shop, "federal intervention in the fields of medical care, housing, prices and wages," and deficit financing, and it calls for "total victory over Communism." In addition to its semi-monthly newsletter and numerous pamphlets, it distributes to some 1,000 papers a weekly column by its executive secretary, Thurman Sensing. Column titles this year have included "U Thant's Bias", "Panama -- Another Cuba," and "Career Welfarists."

United Republicans of America -- Organized in early 1965, URA began operating out of Liberty Lobby's headquarters and using the latter's bulk mail permit. Its first head, D. Bruce Evans, said that it was inspired by the "party-within-a-party" approach urged by Liberty Lobby. Its main purpose is thus to support the nomination and election of right-wing Republicans. URA began with a list of "Advisory Board" members that included four Congressmen but all have since left the organization, evidently in protest to its announcement of a "purge" list of 77 Democrats in the House which URA said it aimed to defeat. Early this year Evans was replaced as top staff man (he continues on the Advisory Board) by Wainwright Dawson, a young Pennsylvania advertising man who had come to Washington to direct YAF-PAC, the Political Action Committee of Young Americans for Freedom. In addition to its organizational activities, URA collects and distributes campaign funds to conservative candidates (but it doesn't report these funds to the Congress, claiming that they are properly reportable by the individual candidates). This fund-raising activity, under the URA name, has led the Republican National Committee to circulate a memorandum "to advise that United Republicans of America has no official affiliation whatsoever with the Republican Party."

Veritas Foundation -- Organized in 1958 by Harvard alumni, the Foundation is headed by Archibald Roosevelt, an Endorser of the Birch Society and a regular sponsor of the annual New England Rally for God, Family and Country which is closely linked to the Society. Its main activity has been the preparation, publication and distribution of two books, Keynes at Harvard (which equates Keynesian economics with socialism and communism), and The Great Deceit (which Foundation Research Director Zygmund Dobbs says reports their finding that "the Socialists have crept into various phases of our society, almost by default," and have been allowed "literally to brainwash the American public"). Both books are on the Birch Society's "recommended" list, and a report of late 1966 claimed that 140,000 copies of the first and 14,000 copies of the second had been distributed.

Young Americans for Freedom -- Formally organized at the family estate of William F. Buckley, Jr., in Sharon, Connecticut, YAF grew directly out of the 1960 Youth for Goldwater movement. It has long been the most important conservative political organization on the college campuses, claiming about 30,000 members. While its orientation is primarily toward the National Review brand of conservatism, YAF's National Advisory Board includes some with ties to the Birch Society, and JBS Council member Clarence Manion is a frequent speaker for the organization. Resolutions adopted at this year's YAF convention included replacing the progressive income tax with a proportional one, putting social security on an optional basis, abolishing the minimum wage, repealing "unenforceable edicts" in the field of civil rights, and a generally "hard-line" in foreign policy. YAF activities include publication of a monthly magazine, New Guard, which reports a paid circulation of more than 20,000.

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FROM MAJOR JORDAN'S DIARIES
by George Racey Jordan (with Richard L. Stokes)

First published by Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1952; later reprinted by The Bookmailer, now available in paperback American Opinion Reprint Series; excerpts appeared in Readers Digest, Dec., 1952; on the "Initial List of Approved Books" of the John Birch Society and included in the Society's "One Dozen Candles" packet of books.

Jordan was an Air Corps Officer who served in a liaison post relative to Russian lend-lease during World War II. Most of his duty was at Great Falls, Montana, from whence lend-lease aircraft departed for Alaska and the Soviet Union. He says that he "felt a foreboding that one day there would be a thorough investigation of Russian Lend-Lease" and so he began to keep a "diary" consisting of various documents, photos, and other items, as well as a sort of personal journal. (p. 9)

In December, 1949, Jordan appeared on Fulton Lewis, Jr.'s radio program and charged that the lend-lease shipments through Great Falls had been used by the Russians to send great quantities of documents and materials (most of it in black suitcases which claimed diplomatic immunity), and that uranium and heavy water had gone to Russia in some of the aircraft. He also charged that the late Harry Hopkins had specifically aided the Russians in securing documents and material relating to the atomic bomb program.

The broadcast was followed by Jordan's appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee (Hearings Regarding Shipment of Atomic Material to the Soviet Union During World War II). The book, From Major Jordan's Diary, tells his story of these events, with additional material not touched upon in his testimony before HUAC.

The Un-American Activities Committee never filed a report on the subject and there were certainly differing evaluations by the Committee's members. The late Congressman Francis Walter (D-Pa.) told newsmen, "I think there are so many discrepancies it is highly improbable that many of the things Mr. Jordan said occurred did occur." Congressman Burr Harrison (D-Va.) was even more skeptical. (N. Y. Times 12/8/49) Jordan himself has subsequently contended that a majority of the individual members "agreed that it /his story/ had been substantiated to their satisfaction." (Letter in N. Y. Times 5/3/51) In his book (pp. 3-5) he quotes extensively from Richard Nixon's examination of HUAC staff investigator Donald Appell in which Nixon contended that Jordan's charges had been substantiated on four out of five points. (See pp. 1148-9 of Hearings) Jordan also implies that an FBI investigation substantiated his story. (p. 100 -- he quotes Fulton Lewis, Jr. as telling him "I've checked your story from stem to stern. The FBI made a parallel investigation and has given me permission to break it over the radio.") Newsweek magazine (12/9/49) reported, however, that the FBI agent assigned to check Jordan's story had concluded that it did not stand up.

The "Substantiated" Charges - The four general charges or aspects of the Jordan story which Nixon felt had been substantiated by HUAC's staff investigation were as follows.

1) That shipments of uranium and heavy water had gone to Russia under lend-lease. A staff report of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy subsequently stated that there had been 3 shipments of uranium salts (1,42 lbs.) and 1 shipment of uranium metal (2.2 lbs.) that had gone but "with the knowledge and consent of all agencies and parties concerned" and that 2 shipments of heavy water (1100 grams) had gone "within existing legal provisions for such exports." (Soviet Atomic Espionage, a Joint Committee Print, April, 1951) It should also be noted that these charges had been known to HUAC long before Maj. Jordan contacted anyone and, at least in part, had been made public as early as August, 1948. (See speech by Rep. McDowell, Congressional Record 8/6/48, cited in Robert K. Carr, The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945-1950, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1952, p. 188. Carr says that the Committee's staff "had given intermittent attention to the subject since that time.")

2) The Russian use of suitcases under "diplomatic immunity" to send documents and secret material to Russia. Jordan stated that the quantity of such suitcases was so large that he became suspicious and, on a number of occasions, opened some of them over the Russians' objections and made notes on the contents which he later transcribed into his "diary." In the book he emphasized that testimony of the Soviet defector, Victor Kravchenko, substantiated his own even to the name and date for one of the couriers. (See Hearings, pp. 1183-6; Jordan book, pp. 107-12) Again, it should be noted that Jordan's charges came as no surprise to the Committee. Two-and-a-half years previously, Kravchenko had appeared before them and had testified about this specific instance. (See Testimony of Victor A. Kravchenko, p. 21. In his 1947 appearance Kravchenko said "I was witness when over 10 special large water-proof sacks were packed with secret material to be taken by him /Vasilenko/ to Moscow . . . . In his 1949 appearance the luggage had changed to "six large bags" (p. 111 of Jordan's book) but no one seemed to mind the difference.)

3) That Jordan had attempted to bring to the attention of superiors his concern regarding the materials being sent to Russia in the "black suitcases." Army files confirmed that Jordan had reported on the "incredible amount of diplomatic mail sent to Russia through Great Falls." On the other hand, Jordan's testimony before the Committee also included the statement that on January 8, 1944 he had talked personally to John Hazard (in the office of Lend-Lease in the State Department) and had been told that "there wasn't anything for me to worry about." (Hearings, p. 914) Hazard himself denied to the Committee that he had seen or had "any conversation with or with regard to Major Jordan." (p. 1135) In his book, Jordan says that he talked to "a young assistant" of Hazard's. (p. 81 -- in his original testimony before HUAC he had said flatly, "I saw a John Hazard, the chief of the entire outfit, and he told me . . . .")

4) That Jordan had, as he had said, removed radar equipment from some of the planes going through. It was confirmed that on at least one occasion Jordan had reported the arrival of a plane with some radar equipment and had been told to remove it prior to the plane's departure for Russia. (Hearings, p. 1134) This was a charge made by Jordan to the press and not before the Committee. He had also alleged that one plane had gone

through with the radar because it had by-passed Great Falls. An officer in Army Security denied flatly the latter charge. (See N. Y. Times 12/8/49)

The Charges Against Hopkins - The most sensational aspect of the Jordan story was that relating to the late Harry Hopkins, a top war-time assistant to President Roosevelt. Aside from general allegation that the Russians would always "call Mr. Hopkins" when they wanted something, the Jordan charges involve two specific instances: his testimony that in one of the suitcases he had found a 2-page memo on White House stationery which was signed "HH" and included the phrase "Had a hell of a time getting these away from Groves" (presumably referring to Gen. Leslie Groves of the Manhattan Project); and that on one occasion he had talked to Hopkins by telephone and Hopkins had told him to expedite a shipment and "keep this off the record" and that the shipment proved to be uranium.

The alleged note -- In his testimony before HUAC Jordan said that he was not sure to whom the note was addressed but he remembered asking his Russian counterpart who Mr. Mikoyan was at about that time, so he thought that Mikoyan was the addressee. (Hearings, p. 919) In the book he states flatly that it was addressed to Mikoyan and began, "My dear Mr. Minister." (p. 30)

When Gen. Groves was called before HUAC and questioned, he not only denied any effort by Hopkins to obtain anything from him, but added "I can't imagine any request or effort by Mr. Hopkins along that line ever occurring without my knowledge." (Hearings, p. 947) In further refutation of Jordan's story, it was pointed out (by HUAC investigator Appell, among others) that there were no documents to be found in which Hopkins used "HH" -- he always initialed things "HLH". (See pp. 1136-8 of the Hearings)

In his second appearance before HUAC (after Groves' testimony), Jordan stressed that his notes did not indicate that the memo had specifically shown that "HH" himself had "had a hell of a time" etc. In his book he goes even further on this point. He now reveals, "here, for the first time," that a name (he thinks it was either Oscar or Carrie) had preceded the verb. (pp. 30-31). This tendency to modify his testimony adding more details and changing other aspects is far from unusual in the Jordan revelations.) The words "from Groves" he says, "probably" meant "from the Groves organization." Finally, he says that his "HH" notation " may not have been an exact transcription" and that his intent was clear: to identify the signature as that of Harry Hopkins. (p. 5)

The alleged phone conversation -- Jordan's story is that he frequently placed calls to the Russian Embassy or to the Russian Purchasing Commission on behalf of his counterpart Russian officer who would then take the phone; that frequently the Russian would say that he was going to "call Mr. Hopkins"; and that on one occasion, the Russian handed him the phone and said, "Mr. Hopkins -- coming on now." Jordan says that the voice at the other end identified itself as Hopkins and then gave him the instructions regarding the shipment of chemicals. (See pp. 35-36 of the book, pp. 926-8 and 1170-71 of Hearings) In his first appearance before HUAC, Jordan dated this call as in the Spring of 1944. In his second appearance he changed the date to 1943. Not only was this more in accord with the date of the uranium shipment as it had been established in the interim -- and Jordan said he dated the call in relation to the shipment -- but it had also been pointed out that Hopkins had been sick and out of Washington for all of the first half of 1944 and couldn't possibly have talked to Jordan on the phone. See Newsweek 12/19/49) But, even on his own testimony, Jordan had only the word of the Russians and the voice at the other end of the phone that he was indeed talking to Harry Hopkins. He says that it must have been Hopkins because the voice asked "Did you get those pilots I sent you?" This reference to the recent ending of a pilot shortage at Great Falls, says Jordan, was to "a subject which only Mr. Hopkins and myself could have known," despite the fact that on the preceding page he had said that it was the Russian, Col. Kotikov, who "had simply got tired of waiting /for the needed pilots/ and gone 'straight to Mr. Hopkins.'" (p. 34) It might also be noted that the Jordan "diary" admittedly had no notation of the crucial phone call, though he said it was the only time he personally had talked to "Mr. Hopkins."

Other Charges - In his appearance on the Lewis broadcast, Jordan had also stated that among the things he had found in the black suitcases had been folders of State Department documents, some of which were labelled "From_____". On the broadcast and in his first HUAC appearance he used the letters X and Y in place of names offering to give the actual names to the Committee in executive session. According to his book this was on Lewis's advice because the trial of Alger Hiss was then in progress and mention of his name "might have prejudiced it." (p. 30) In his second HUAC appearance he was less reticent and said that the labels said "From Hiss" and "From Sayre." The Committee made surprisingly little of this specific charge though, as Professor Carr was later to point out, one wonders why Jordan would have made special note of two names that in all likelihood could have meant nothing to him at the time. (Carr, op. cit., p. 192. If espionage was in his mind there is no evidence that he mentioned it to anyone until six years later.)

In his second HUAC appearance Jordan also announced that prior to leaving the army he had prevailed upon the Russians to give him copies of their own listing of lend-lease shipments to them (he reproduces a summarized listing in his book which runs to 26 1/2 pages). On the basis of this he notes a number of materials which he says are "suitable for use in an atomic pile." Included are aluminum tubes and carbon graphite. He doesn't consider the possibility that these materials might have been "suitable" for other uses as well.

A brief chapter in the Jordan book (pp. 91-8) is devoted to the story of the engraving plates that were shipped to Russia during the war. It had been decided that both the Russian and western forces should utilize the same occupation currency in Germany and, at their request, the Russians were furnished a set of plates with which to print these "occupation marks." Subsequently they issued them in large amounts without adequate control or accountability and they not only circulated widely in the Allied occupation area, but were redeemed by the Allied Military Government.

No reference to this story had been made in Jordan's testimony before HUAC but he claims in the book to have been told about the shipment of plates by Col. Kotikov (and to have been skeptical at the time). In fact the story

had been known publicly since at least 1947 when it was the subject of hearings before the Senate Appropriations, Armed Services, and Banking and Currency Committees, under the chairmanship of Sen. Bridges. (See Occupation Currency Transactions, Hearings etc. These appear to be Jordan's primary source of information and he insists on referring to it as "unreleased material" at the same time that he gives page references to the published hearings.)

The year after publication of Jordan's book, these plates were also the subject of 1953 hearings by Senator Joseph McCarthy's Subcommittee. Jordan and McCarthy lay the blame for the shipment of the plates at the door of the late Harry Dexter White, who did participate in the negotiations on the matter. However, a later study, based on the Army's records, states that there was no evidence that White was wrongly motivated. This study makes the significant point that prior to Treasury Department approval not only had the State Department recommended the action, but the War Department's chief of staff, speaking for the Combined Chiefs of Staff, "suggested that the printing plates be furnished the Russian Government so long as the action did not interfere with General Eisenhower's currency needs." (Walter Rundell, Jr., "The U. S. Army's Currency Management in World War II," unpublished dissertation, American University, 1957, p. 181.) The same writer makes the further point that it became apparent almost immediately that the Russian-printed notes were easily identified because they had a dash in front of the serial number. However, in spite of this information, the Army's Office of the Fiscal Director delayed taking the necessary action to prevent further redemption until the American Military Government was extremely "long" on occupation marks. (Ibid.)

KENNETH GOFF

Kenneth Goff was a member of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League from May 2, 1936 to October 9, 1939. He used the alias of John Keats. (Vol. 9 of the Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for 1939)

For many years Goff was an assistant to Gerald L.K. Smith in his Christian Nationalist Crusade. In 1948 Goff left Smith, complaining that he was being exploited by Smith in that he was forced to put up at third-rate hotels while the leader (Smith) and his wife invariably stopped at the best hotels. ("A Measure of Freedom," Arnold Forster, p. 40)

In 1946, Goff received a suspended sentence for passing fraudulent checks, and in 1948 was fined $100 in Washington, D.C., for illegal picketing. ("The Plotters," John Carlson, p. 86)

The Mayor's Committee on Human Relations branded Goff as a professional "agitator" and named him in "hate groups." (Denver Post, November 23, 1947)

The Denver Post, in an editorial, July 31, 1953, praised the civic leaders of Englewood for "their prompt denunciation of the Rev. Kenneth O. Goff. ... As long as they are alert to the menace of bigotry as personified by Goff, he can do no real harm there. Long a disciple of Gerald L. K. Smith, Kenneth Goff is one of the minor menaces among American hate-merchants."

I certify that this is a true copy.

Anne M. Dempsey

Anne M. Dempsey

Sec 3 - PUB
5/23/66

GREATER NEBRASKAN, THE
1330 Turner Blvd., Omaha, Nebraska 68105

Official publication of Congress of Freedom, Inc. (Sec 1 - ORG), issued "periodically" -- usually five times a year -- at $3 annually.

Editor and Publisher: George J. Thomas, Executive Director of Congress of Freedom

President: G. E. (Bert) Carpenter

Background

The numbering system utilized, under which 1966 issues constitute Volume 43, implies that the magazine was founded in the early 1920's. At least until the first part of 1960, the masthead listed it as "the official publication of The Greater Nebraska Club," of which Carpenter was evidently President and Thomas, Secretary-Treasurer. Neither the nature of the Club, nor the date on which Thomas became editor and publisher are known, though the latter was prior to the formation of Congress of Freedom in the early 1950's. Thomas became Executive Secretary of Congress of Freedom in 1955, although The Greater Nebraskan was not officially adopted by the organization for another five years.

Format

The format is 8 1/2" x 11" magazine style. Since the Fall of 1964 the standard size has been 20 pages on newsprint-type paper, utilizing photo-offset reproduction. Prior to that, the issues ran 16 to 28 pages in size, were printed on coated paper, and the printing was evidently done by letter-press.

As a general rule, no advertising appears, except for "shop ads" -- for the magazine itself or for books it is selling. An exception is the final issue each year. It is often labeled the "Christmas issue" and carries a sizable amount of what is apparently "good-will" advertising from Omaha firms, including Northwestern Bell Telephone Co. One important out-of-town advertiser, however, has been the Reda Pump Co., of Bartlesville, Oklahoma, which has taken a half-page each year, at least since 1962. This firm is headed by Armais Arutunoff, who was a speaker at the 1960 meeting of Congress of Freedom. (Program) Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade has reported regular contributions -- totalling $638 during the years 1961-4 -- from "A. Arutunoff, Bartlesville, Okla." (Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives)

Circulation figures for The Greater Nebraskan are unknown. It does not have second-class postal status, and is not listed in N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals or similar reference works.

Sources Used

Reprint material has long been the major feature of The Greater Nebraskan. Some of the most frequently used sources are worth comment.

A frequent feature since the Fall of 1964 has been the reproduction, in whole (usually as the four center pages), of Herald of Freedom, the publication of Frank Capell, author of The Strange Death of Marilyn Monroe and, more recently, Treason Is the Reason. (The subjects of the four issues most recently reprinted by the Nebraskan have been Martin Luther King, Jr.; Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.; the Watts riots -- titled "Rehearsal for Revolution" and Adam Yarmolinsky.)

A frequent source of longer standing has been Mary Davison, head of her own Council for Statehood as well as a Director of Congress of Freedom. Her regular "Open Letters" to "The Governors and Legislatures of the Sovereign States" were formerly a regular feature in the Nebraskan and her material continues to appear frequently. Her book, The Secret Government of the United States, was published by The Greater Nebraskan, and is advertised in almost every issue.

The commentaries run by Robert Dresser (Sec 2 - IND) as advertisements in the Providence Journal have also furnished material for frequent reprints. (The most recent was titled "The Dominican Republic Story -- Another Shameful Surrender to the Communists." Spring, 1966, issue)

Not surprisingly, Mary Cain and her papers -- the Summit, Miss., Sun and The Woman Constitutionalist -- are common sources. Others which have been utilized range from the materials of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation (Sec 1 - ORG), to Closer Up and the Don Bell Report, both edited by Don Bell, characterized by the Anti-Defamation League as a "notorious anti-Semite." (Danger on the Right, p. 78) To what extent The Greater Nebraskan bothers to secure permission to reproduce and reprint from these various sources is not indicated.

Additional insight into the content and flavor of the magazine is furnished by the following sampling of headlines from various issues:

> The Foul Conspiracy to Entrap the United States in a World Government (December, 1963)
>
> Let's Amend the Supreme Court (June, 1964)
>
> It's Goldwater! Now or Never (October, 1964)
>
> The Story of Urban Renewal (February, 1965 -- entire issue)
>
> Council on Foreign Relations Declared as Subversive (Summer, 1965)
>
> "Fusion of the Races" or "A Mongrel America Tomorrow" (Christmas, '65)
>
> The Greatest Usurpation of Constitutional Power -- The Federal Reserve Act (Spring, 1966)

(To replace Grede entry, 5/14/62)

Sec 2 - IND

GREDE, WILLIAM J.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Founder, former President, and currently Chairman, Grede Foundaries, Inc.
Director, Thomas Industries, Inc.
Director, Kingsford Company

Former President, Chairman, and Director of J. I. Case Company. Resigned all positions in December, 1961, at the same time that arrangements for a three-year bank credit were announced.

(Poor's, 1963; N. Y. Times, 2/20/60, 12/29/61)

Director, Seventh District Federal Reserve Bank (Who's Who, 1962-1963)

Former President (1952) and Director, National Association of Manufacturers (Ibid.)

Council Member, John Birch Society (5/63 letterhead)

Holds stock in Robert Welch, Inc., owner of American Opinion magazine (postal statement filed 9/26/62 and printed in November, 1962 American Opinion)

Editorial Advisory Committee, American Opinion, first issue to date (mastheads)

National Committee, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (7/15/63 letterhead)

Vice Chairman, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (adv., N. Y. Times, 8/30/5

Fund-raiser and sponsor, Manion Forum (4/3/58 letter and 4/2/62 list)

Trustee and Instructor, The Freedom School (1963 Prospectus)

Co-Chairman, Charles Edison Dinner Committee, which sponsored a May, 1963, dinner honoring Charles Edison (Sec 2 - IND) (5/20/63 letterhead)

Charter subscriber to Human Events (special issue, 1/62)

He has called the progressive income tax "the very foundation of all socialistic programs, the most socializing agency in the country." He said Marx could not have devised a more "monstrous tax plan . . . which is leading to complete destruction of all individual freedoms." (Washington Post 2/1/57)

In 1951, Time magazine (12/17/51) described Grede as refusing to bargain collectively, having no union contracts, and licking the CIO steelworkers in strikes or heading off organizers by meeting the industry level of wages and fringe benefits.

Appointed management representative at labor-management "summit" meetings sponsored by President Eisenhower in 1960. Upon learning he was a Bircher, Eisenhower threatened to fire him, but was dissuaded. The J. I. Case Company, which Grede then headed, was being struck by the United Auto Workers at the time of the appointment. Labor blamed the failure of the conference on the choice of second-string management representatives who were unfriendly to labor. (Washington Evening Star 4/1/61)

(Group Research, Inc.)

GREEN, GLENN A. 6/27/62
Washington, D. C.

Former Executive Vice President, National Education Program of Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas (Washington Post 4/20/62)
Creator of Harding films, "Communism On the Map" and "Communist Encirclement," 1961 (Kansas City Star 2/4/62)

Since 1960 Green has worked for the National Right to Work Committee

Member and organizer, John Birch Society (Newsweek 5/1/61)

DR. BILLY JAMES HARGIS, his CHRISTIAN CRUSADE, his CHRISTIAN ECHOES NATIONAL MINISTRY, and connections with other groups.

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I. Who is Billy James Hargis?

Born in 1925 at Texarkana, Texas, Hargis went through a rapid training for the ministry and was ordained at the age of 18 in the Disciples of Christ, recently merged with the Christian Church. He served pastorates at Sallisaw, Oklahoma; Granby, Missouri; and Sapulpa, Oklahoma, where he was in 1950 when he resigned from the pastorate to direct his anti-communist activities full-time.

Hargis uses the title of Doctor, but this is honorary at most. His ordination followed instruction at Ozark Bible College, Bentonville, Arkansas. He received a Doctor of Divinity degree in 1954 from Defender Seminary, in Puerto Rico; then he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1956 and a Bachelor of Theology degree in 1958 from Burton College and Seminary, Manitou Springs, Colorado. In 1957, he obtained an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Belin Memorial University, then located at Chillicothe, Mo., but now located at Manassas, Va. In 1961 he received another honorary Doctor of Laws from Bob Jones University, Greenville, S.C., and he has continued a friendly relationship with both Bob Jones, Sr., the Founder, and Bob Jones, Jr., the President, of that University. For example, when Hargis announced the establishment of a school at Manitou Springs, he said it would be staffed by students of Bob Jones University.

At least two of these degrees were obtained from "diploma mills" so branded by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare during the Eisenhower Administration. (April, 1960, press release) These are his "degrees" from Burton College and Belin Memorial University.

In addition, the head of the latter, Dr. Clyde Belin, was sentenced September 16, 1959, to a one-year term in Federal prison for using the mails to defraud. Moreover, Defender Seminary in Puerto Rico was an enterprise of the late Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, a notorious anti-Semite of the 1940's. (FACTS, published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, April, 1962, p. 230)

All accounts of Hargis's activities comment on his boundless energy, in spite of his 270 pounds. Until recently, he traveled to as many as 20 meetings a month via a special air-conditioned bus which served as a mobile bedroom, office and radio studio. One explanation of his drive was given by Hargis to John Wicklein, of the New York Times (8/6/61): "I enjoyed holding revivals and evangelism is that type of work, and I decided to become an anti-Communist evangelist. *** My biggest break, so far as promotion is concerned, came in 1953. I got the idea of ballooning Bibles into the Iron Curtain countries from West Germany." He explained that the U. S. Government at first confiscated the balloons, then approved, but that the publicity made Hargis a celebrity.

A rousing orator of the old school, Hargis was once asked by a reporter: "Does your conscience bother you when you are manipulating an audience

as you did tonight?" Hargis replied: "I'm a trained speaker. Any minister has to be. I know when I have an audience with me. I had them with me tonight. You know, there was a man in the back of the room waving an American flag. That sort of inspired me. Yes, people are uninformed and ignorant, but I believe this is generally true, and not just in my audiences. Besides, I think it is the ignorant people who are going to save this country." (Article by John Kay Adams, Assistant City Editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, in The Nation 9/30/61)

A Hargis speech may last nearly two hours and will embrace many subjects. In a speech at Houston, Hargis condemned "Communism, liberalism, the National Council of Churches, federal aid to education, Jack Paar, federal medical care for the aged, Ed Sullivan, the recent Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting, Eleanor Roosevelt, disarmament, Steve Allen, and the Freedom Riders." (Willie Morris, quoting the Houston Chronicle in Harper's, October, 1961) Hargis also dismissed the brotherhood-of-man idea as "hogwash" and said: "I find most of those who criticize me are allied with those who follow the /communist/ party line."

This attitude, which approaches martyrdom, is related to Hargis's protests that he is a moderate. For example, he was head of a group called "We, The People!" at least two years when it met jointly with the National Committee for Economic Freedom, the chief pressure group for abolishing the Federal income tax; yet Hargis told a reporter: "I have never advocated repeal of income taxes. I know nothing of economics. I'm a radio preacher, fighting liberalism and communism. What we are doing is creating a climate of conservatism." (Peter Edson, Washington Daily News 3/20/62)

Hargis also disclaims any racism or other bigotry, yet his program has been used for the most reckless kind of racism and he has had very significant ties with such bigots as Gerald L. K. Smith. One of the invited speakers at his 1962 Leadership School, R. Carter Pittman, alleged at some length that the Negro race is inferior to the white, and there is every evidence that Hargis knew Pittman's racist attitude and record when he was invited.

Similarly, Hargis says that he has called Gerald L. K. Smith a phony, yet Smith quotes Hargis as once having said: "Gerald Smith has taught me all I know." (The Cross and the Flag, June, 1960)

In his attack on liberals and liberalism, Hargis differs from a few other right-wing leaders, such as Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, who claims to be against nothing but communism. Hargis, on the other hand, says "liberals will bankrupt us economically. Russia is waiting for just that. . . . I challenge the leaders to get off liberalism." Yet, characteristically, Hargis issued a disclaimer with the same quote:

"I do not equate liberalism with communism." (Washington Daily News 3/20/62)

And always there is the tie to fundamentalist religion. Hargis began the statement above by saying: "I got into this in 1948 because I saw apostacy growing in our churches. Liberals were discouraging belief in the virgin birth. The end of liberalism will be to destroy the church."

Another characteristic of Hargis is his constant fund-raising through appeal to audiences, through literature and through his radio programs. "Anytime I fail to ask for an offering," he told Harold Martin of the Saturday Evening Post,"you'll know I must be sick. And anytime the people don't come up and buy my books after I have finished talking, I know I have failed to put my message across." (4/28/62)

The result of all this activity has been to make Hargis one of the top right-wing leaders. The Saturday Evening Post stated that 100,000 Americans gave nearly $1,000,000 to his tax-exempt Crusade last year, "making it the best-heeled of all the far-right organizations." The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, during a series on right-wing movements, began its article on Hargis: "The Rev. Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade is the most significant anti-Communist group in the nation, because of its aggressiveness and efficient use of communications, some liberal observers believe." (1/27/62)

The Air Force manual incident: In February of 1960, front pages all over the country carried news stories that the U. S. Air Force had distributed a training manual containing attacks on the National Council of Churches and charging that the clergy is infiltrated with Communists. Under a heading of communism in religion, the manual stated: "From a variety of authoritative sources, there appears to be overwhelming evidence of Communist anti-religious activity in the United States through the infiltration of fellow-travellers into churches and educational institutions."

Reporters learned from the Air Force that the controversial manual had been written by one of its civilian employees, Homer H. Hyde, who identified Hargis as one of his sources. Specifically, a Hargis publication was listed as being of "considerable assistance" to Air Force reservists in studying security and related manuals. It is titled: "The National Council of Churches Indicts Itself on 50 Counts of Treason to God and Country." The pamphlet attacks the Council on grounds that it allegedly "promotes socialism which is contrary to our historic way of life" and criticizes the Council for having praised the "Godless U. N." (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2/21/60) The manual was eventually withdrawn by the Air Force, with an apology to the Council.

II. Christian Echoes National Ministry

A few years before his success with ballooning Bibles, Hargis had incorporated his operation at Sapulpa as Christian Echoes National Ministry, which is still the official name of Hargis's operations. Trustees, besides Hargis, were listed as B. T. Blunk and Loyd A. Wright, all of Sapulpa. The by-laws were signed by these three plus Betty Jane Hargis (his wife), Charles Pile, Wayne Buttry and J. E. Hargis (his father).

In 1952, Christian Echoes National Ministry applied for and received tax exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service as an educational and religious group. With his IRS application, Hargis sent a pamphlet, "Communism in America Exposed," which was an attack on alleged infiltration of the churches, schools and the field of race relations. On the latter, he referred to attempts at "mongrelization."

Although he told IRS he was not advocating or opposing pending or proposed legislation, this pamphlet stated on page 13: "We can demand our senators and representatives pass laws in each state requiring each public school teacher, college or grade school, to sign the equivalent of non-Communist affidavits."

His main publication, a monthly magazine, was then called "Christian Echoes," and he had issued a 24-page collection of sermons entitled "America Awake!"

The application shows income and expenditures for the year through March 31, 1952 as being roughly balanced at $18,000, with the largest income item being about $12,000 from sermons, and indicates that Hargis was paid for appearances in Oklahoma, Texas, California, Indianapolis, and Ohio.

III. Christian Crusade

For the past 10 or 12 years, Hargis has been the star of the show at a growing center of operations in Tulsa, Oklahoma. In 1961, the staff of Christian Crusade numbered fifty, and Hargis told the New York Times (8/6/61) there were 100,000 members in 40 states. He also said that the "crusade's budget runs to $75,000 a month, $25,000 each for printing, radio and administration. It mails 250,000 pieces of literature a month." Hargis's recorded "anti-Communist and anti-liberal messages" (quoting the Times) have been reproduced by 70 radio stations across the country as public service features.

However, Hargis told his 1961 convention, according to another Times article (August 7), that Mutual Broadcasting System would air his messages nationally for six months at a specially low religious rate

of $38,870. After the announcement, Hargis appealed to God and his 700 audience to raise the $38,870 — and raised it at the same session.

There is no proof — or disproof — of the claim on Crusade material that it is "America's largest anti-Communist organization." The material is well-printed, and the correspondence is professionally handled.

One reason for this is undoubtedly the employment of L. E. "Pete" White, a Tulsa advertising man who was previously employed by Oral Roberts, the "faith healer" of TV fame. White tells reporters that he built Oral Roberts from $25 in his pocket to a multi-million dollar operation, then fell out over money. A few months later, White was called on by Hargis, who then was preaching in Sapulpa, broadcasting on three stations and had some old mailing equipment. "We set up Hargis along the same pattern as Roberts," White says. From $40,000 worth of commissionable radio-TV time and advertising in the first year, Hargis now has billings of between $400,000 and $500,000, on which White's agency receives the standard 15% commission. (Donald Quinn, Oklahoma Courier, reprinted in Congressional Record 4/16/62, p. 6060-1)

Hargis has been fairly successful in extending his program from what might be narrowly considered as the Southwest Bible Belt to the national stage, and he refers often to the need for coordinating some 2,000 right-wing organizations. His main shows have been the national conventions of the Christian Crusade, held at Tulsa, but he is also a top officer in We, The People!, which operates from Chicago, and in 1962 he conducted schools in several regions of the country, besides trying a meeting in Washington.

Also, in 1962 Hargis announced the purchase of an old resort hotel in Manitou Springs, Colorado, which he renamed "The Summit" and started making into a retreat and an "anti-communism summer college." (Denver Post 5/27/62) Hargis held his first meeting there July 4-8, 1962, as part of what he publicized as his "Rebirth of Christian Conservatism Campaign." Similar conferences were held during the summer at Winona Lake, Indiana; Seattle, Washington; and Tulsa. After announcing purchase of "The Summit," Hargis appealed for $30,000 to finish paying for it.

Finances

In 1962, Hargis opened a new "international headquarters" in a four-story building at 219 South Boston Street in downtown Tulsa, but he was also sounding grave warnings to his supporters that he needed much more money. A letter edged in black announced in March "with a sad heart" that five important radio stations had cancelled

for lack of money; a July letter on blue stationery in Mrs. Betty Jane Hargis's handwriting told of the pressure on the Hargis children caused by criticism of Billy James, mentioned her illness and promised a snapshot of Billy and the children in return for much-needed contributions; and the September 14 issue of his Weekly Crusader began with a red-ink headline: THIS PUBLICATION WILL BE DISCONTINUED AS OF OCTOBER 1, UNLESS-----!

A September, 1962, letter from the "Business Office" stated that "$22,000 monthly has been cut from the radio budget," that "a saving of $52,000 annually has been achieved" by Hargis producing his own TV shows, that a saving of $5,000 monthly was realized from dropping TV stations where the Crusade was paying for the time ("now all of our TV programs are eigher locally sponsored or they are carried sustaining by the local station."), that "a saving of $10,000 monthly has resulted from trimming our office staff down by 35 workers, that the magazine, Christian Crusade, is being printed at a saving of $1,000 monthly, and that other economies had been effected by having consultants come to the headquarters. However, the letter referred to "deficits since January 1" which needed immediate contributions.

IRS reports for years since 1952 show that the Crusade went along at a level of $25,000 a year for a while, then radio contributions started boosting the budget. In 1955, income was about $58,000; in 1956 it was $124,000, mostly from radio contributions but partly from the balloon drive. By 1957, gross receipts were about $170,000, and minutes of the annual trustees meeting showed that Hargis was furnished a parsonage and that his salary was a little over $10,000. (It has since been raised to $12,000.) Gross receipts reached nearly $275,000 in 1958, raised to $373,000 in 1959, and exceeded $595,000 in 1960.

Hargis claims that most of his contributions come from the grass roots. He has specifically denied that H. L. Hunt, the Texas oil billionaire who finances "Life Lines," has given him anything, although the New York Times (8/6/61) quotes a Crusade spokesman as having said that Hunt contributed to several Hargis projects, adding: "We intend to get other conservative millionaires to contribute to the crusade, without taking over the crusade for their pet ideas."

A few years ago, Hargis publications were advertising a food supplement called "Nutri-Bio," which was seized in 1961 by the U. S. Food and Drug Administration as being "of no value in the treatment or prevention of any of the diseases which commonly occur in this country." (HEW release R95) Hargis disclaimed any connection with the product, but as late as June, 1961, there was an ad for Nutri-Bio in his Christian Crusade magazine.

When Hargis purchased "The Summit" at Manitou Springs, he obtained a loan of $15,000 from Frank Graham, of Shreveport, (pictured in the

June, 1962, Christian Crusade) but it is apparent that most of the fund-raising is done by constant appeal for smaller amounts from believers.

Hargis goes to considerable lengths to maintain a distinction between his political and religious operations, apparently for the purpose of protecting the tax-exempt status of his Crusade. For example, he was quoted by John Kay Adams, Assistant City Editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, as saying: "I don't get any money out of this. The Christian Crusade pays my salary, but We, The People! doesn't pay me anyting. We, The People! is political. It gives me a chance to do something in the political area. But the Christian Crusade is strictly religious." (The Nation 9/30/62)

However, Hargis's statements and writings put a considerable strain on this interpretation. After the 1956 presidential election, a U. S. Senate subcommittee included Hargis activity as an instance of "scurrilous and defamatory literature" having been distributed. The group reported: "Rev. Billy James Hargis of the Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc. of Tulsa, Oklahoma, distributed a mimeographed appeal for funds entitled 'Our 1956 Political Crisis' and a printed leaflet entitled 'Stevenson and Kefauver.' Both of these items were marked by extreme language and attempts to link Stevenson and Kefauver to communism." (Report of the Gore Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, issued 2/3/57, p. 19)

Publications

From the Tulsa headquarters comes a stream of regular publications, special pamphlets, radio-TV broadcasts, sermons, letters, and cooperation with other groups on the ultra-right of the American political scene.

Christian Crusade, the monthly magazine, has the most artwork of the Hargis publications, although it is only $1 a year. It runs about 24 pages in attractive format, with colors. Contents include daily scripture suggestions, a "Sermon of the Month" by Hargis, news of the Crusade and articles on communism, religion and political issues. The editorial staff (June, 1962 masthead) follows:

Publisher, Dr. Billy James Hargis
Editor, L. E. White
Washington Representative, Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby
Contributing editors: Dr. Bob Jones, Jr., President of Bob Jones University; Noel Smith, Editor of the Baptist Bible Tribune, Springfield, Mo.; Matt Cvetic, the ex-FBI counterspy who died last summer; Benjamin Gitlow, former Secretary of the American Communist Party; Gen. C. A. Willoughby, formerly intelligence chief for Gen. Douglas MacArthur; and Julian Williams, Director of Research for the Crusade.

Executive Assistant to Dr. Hargis, H. L. Spencer
General Manager, C. J. Hazelton
Office Manager, Ken Swanson (formerly with Youth for Christ)
Art Editor, Ruth Davis
Research Department, Julian Williams and Maynard Lee, a retired Army officer who served under Gen. Willoughby. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2/27/62)

The Weekly Crusader is an attractively printed, eight page publication in two sections — the inner section being Gen. Willoughby's "Foreign Intelligence Digest." Hargis is listed as Editor-In-Chief, with Senior Editors being Ken Swanson and Gen. Willoughby.

Recent issues have called the National Education Association a "left-wing radical group" (9/14/62), warned that Halloween contributions to children for UNICEF "perhaps . . . will be used to help put the finishing touches on the destruction of the anti-communist and pro-American government of Katanga" (9/21/62), attacked the American Association of University Professors for supporting the President of the University of Oregon in permitting a communist to appear on the campus (8/3/62), reprinted Senator Eastland's analysis of the Supreme Court purporting to show that the justices usually favor the communist position (8/3/62), and blasted the Kennedy farm program in an article headed: "Freedom vs. Santa Claus on American Farms" (7/20/62).

Other publications: Artfully printed pamphlets pour out of the Crusade headquarters, along with tapes, records and books. Hargis's main book, Communist America . . . Must It Be? is also available in record form with Hargis reading portions of it. Chapters include:

A Free Press — Leading America Leftward
Patriotism — Once Revered, Now Smeared
A Supreme Court Against America
United Nations — The Greatest Hoax Ever Perpetrated on the American Public
Communism and the National Council of Churches . . .

A more recent booklet by Hargis is titled "What's Wrong With America?", and he also sells a song book and a recording of his favorite hymns sung by himself.

The real substantive bite in the Crusade is found in its pamphlet series. Examples of some signed by Hargis:

NO ROOM IN THE INN — OR IN THE U. N.

"We slapped Christ in the face at the setting up of the United Nations in San Francisco in April, 1945, just as surely as the Jews slapped Him on the night of His betrayal 2,000 years ago. We gave into Communist

pressures and agreed to make no mention of Jesus Christ, or God, the Father, in United Nations Chambers. From the beginning, there has been no room for Him in the U. N."

THE TRUTH ABOUT SEGREGATION

"The entire problem that confroms America today was bred in the pits of Communist debauchery and conspiracy. . . . Segregation is one of nature's universal laws. . . . No inter-mingling or cross-breeding with animals of a widely different characteristic takes place except under abnormal or artificial conditions. . . . Ancient Israel achieved a mission and accomplished a good which would have been impossible had they abandoned the principle of segregation and became integrated with the nations which hemmed them in on all sides, centuries ago. . . . It is my conviction that God ordained segregation."

UNMASKING MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., THE DECEIVER

"King's Communist affiliations and acquaintances go back many years and establish a clear pattern of Marxist affinity. . . . Rev. King has also been associated with the NAACP. . . . Of the 5 founders of the NAACP, only one was a Negro. He is an identified Communist. . ."

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES INDICTS ITSELF ON 50 COUNTS OF TREASON TO GOD AND COUNTRY!

An introduction tells how a young fundamentalist preacher starts dreaming of "social reform and the like," starts signing petitions, begins to be converted to socialism, and becomes an officer in the local Council of Churches. "He no longer believes that Jesus is coming again. . . he looks to socialism to bring about the Kingdon of God . . . he talks of 'social progress,' 'equality,' 'liberation' and other such jabber-wok."

UNCLE SAM, M. D. ?

"One of the key targets of the collectivist drive to centralize all power in our federal government is the medical field . . . the planners expect to get the principle of government's responsibility for health established— then to move for expansion — and finally achieve a fully socialized medical system in America. . . . Of course, Socialism and, specifically, socialized medicine, is and has been for many years a prime goal of the international Communist conspiracy."

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM FOR THE AMERICAN FARMER

A clever smear of the National Farmers Union effected by quoting from communist sources and boasts to imply that the farm organization is connected to the communists. Also a smear on the Kennedy farm program, such as: "The Communists called for a food stamp program back in 1947 and now that is being put into effect."

COMMUNISM & AMERICAN LABOR

"The question involved in 'Right to Work Laws' is very simple and basic. . . . There are few large industries left . . . where a job can be had and kept without coming under the domination of powerful and rich union bosses. . . . If they are so interested in the welfare of the working men, why do they so strongly oppose employee stock holding and profit-sharing plans whereby the workers are encouraged to more efficient work. . . . Plans such as these are much to the advantage of the working man but are directly opposed to the 'class warfare' theory of the Communists and labor bosses. Most of today's union leaders base their entire union operation upon the 'class warfare' theory — they have millions of workers convinced that employers are their enemies and that they should do as little work as possible for their pay. . . .

"Christian Friends, whether you are a union member or not, you owe it to your country and your children to put the interests of America first. When in doubt how to vote in an election, you will probably be right 99 out of 100 times if you vote the opposite of the way advised by union bosses."

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN . . . A SMOKE SCREEN

"Many of those promoting the brotherhood concept of today will be found also among those who follow in varying degrees the marxist class struggle theory. They will be found among those who tend to divide mankind into two classes, the keepers and the kept, through promoting welfare state socialism."

A few other pamphlets by Hargis are: "The Truth About UNESCO," "The Ugly Truth About Drew Pearson," "What's Wrong With Jesus?" "The United Nations Destroying America By Degrees," "The Muzzling of General Walker," and "Current Communist Party Lines Promoted by the National Council of Churches." Hargis also has a pamphlet, "What Can You Do To Save Our Country?", which recommends right-wing reading material and these radio personalities: Fulton Lewis, Dean Clarence Manion, Dan Smoot, Dr. Carl McIntire, Martha Rountree, Dr. Wayne Poucher and Paul Harvey.

Radio programs: Hargis claims to have built his radio coverage to as many as 70 stations (N. Y. Times 8/6/61) on a public service basis before making a deal with Mutual Broadcasting System to carry his messages nationally for six months. However, he had a falling out with Mutual. As Hargis explained it in the March 23, 1962, Weekly Crusader, Mutual's regulations didnot permit the Crusade to appeal for funds in the broadcasts nor offer literature for sale. Also, he charged that Mutual started censoring the weekly broadcasts and actually rejected one as being "controversial" or "political" instead of religious. He therefore started contracting with individual stations affiliated with Mutual — some 60 of them, widely scattered — and

appealed for funds to maintain the operation and expand it.

Other material: A recent issue of Christian Crusade (May, 1962) offers an entire page of tape recordings at $5.00 each, featuring Hargis and dozens of speakers at various meetings, as well as long-playing records of Hargis. The same issue offers a U. S. flag kit for $4.95 and four books: Communist America — Must It Be?, by Hargis; A Compilation of Public Records of 658 Clergymen and Laymen Connected With the National Council of Churches, by Myers Lowman of the Circuit Riders, Inc.; MacArthur 1941-1951, by Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby and John Chamberlain; and The Story of Mary Liu, by Edward Hunter.

The center spread of the magazine is a two-color ad for hospitalization insurance at special rates to non-drinkers by De Moss Associates, Inc., Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

IV. Connections with others

Hargis has been one of the active promoters of unity and coordination among the right-wing groups. Membership of his National Advisory Committee is reproduced on the next page from a 1962 Crusade brochure, ahd Hargis's connections with other organizations and individulas will follow a description of his 1962 effort to head a coordinating force. See Section 1 - Organizations, for more details on these groups.

(a) Anti-Communist Liaison

Hargis called and presided over a select meeting of right-wingers at Washington, D. C., March 21, 1962. He had previously announced intentions to form a secret fraternity, with Greek letters, but he apparently abandoned this approach. After a session closed to the press, Hargis announced a coordinating committee headed by Edward Hunter, former newspaper man, a lecturer on communism, apparent originator of the term "brainwashing," an Advisory Board member of Young Americans for Freedom, and an available speaker in the American Opinion Speakers Bureau of the John Birch Society. Hunter operates the group out of his home, in Arlington, Virginia under the title: "Anti-Communist Liaison — Committee of Correspondence, 1764-1962."

Others who were named by Hargis at the time or added shortly thereafter, together with their major affiliations, follow. (Names are from a letter of June, 1962)

Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers (ret.), National Director of For America, National Director of Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, John Birch Society, Christian Crusade, Americans for Constitutional Action and Young Americans for Freedom.

CHRISTIAN CRUSADE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Billy James Hargis, D.D.
Founder-President

(Incorporated as Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc. Department of Internal Revenue ruled contributions deductible from the income tax of donor).

TRUSTEES

DR. BILLY JAMES HARGIS, Tulsa, Oklahoma
MR. J. E. HARGIS, Dallas, Texas
MR. C. R. BLISS, Broken Arrow, Oklahoma
MR. EDWIN G. HILL, Tulsa, Oklahoma
MR. CHARLES FILE, Lowell, Arkansas

BOARD OF ADVISORS AND ENDORSERS

* **Thomas J. Anderson** — Publisher, "Farm and Ranch Magazine," Nashville, Tenn.

William C. Birely — Investment Securities, Washington, D. C.

* **Matt Cvetic** — Former Undercover Agent for the FBI, Author, "Big Decision", Los Angeles, Calif

Honorable James C. Davis — Congressman from Georgia.

Mrs. Mary Barclay Erb — Editor, "Report to America;" Former National Defense Chr., D.A.R. New York, N.Y

* **Brigadier General Bonner Fellers** — National Director of "For America," U. S. Army, retired, Washington, D.C

Honorable E. L. Forrester—Congressman from Georgia

Lieutenant General Lewis H. Brereton—U.S. Air Force, Retired, Winter Park, Fla

Donald E. Bruce — Manufacturer Representative, St. Paul, Minn

* **Colonel Laurence E. Bunker** — Former aide-de-camp to General Douglas MacArthur, Wellesley, Mass

Miss Taylor Caldwell—Noted Author of "The Devil's Advocate," and many other books, Buffalo, N.Y.

* **F. Gano Chance** — Distinguished Libertarian Industrialist, Centralia, Mo.

Honorable James H. R. Cromwell — Industrialist; Former Ambassador to Canada, New York, N.Y.

Mrs. Mary D. Cain — Publisher, "Summit Sun", (Miss.) Chr., "Congress of Freedom," Summit, Miss.

Honorable Hamilton Fish — Former Congressman from New York, first Chairman of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, New York, N.Y.

* **J. H. Gipson, Sr.**—Distinguished publisher of Libertarian Books, Caldwell, Idaho

Dr. Alfred F. Haake — Noted Libertarian Economist; Chairman, "Layman's National Committee", Largo, Fla.

Dr. Bob Jones, Jr. — President, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina

Walter Knott — Knott's Berry Farm Buena Park, Calif

* **Fred C. Koch** — President, Rock Island Oil Company, Wichita, Kan

* **Honorable J. Bracken Lee** — Mayor, Salt Lake City, Utah

* **Brigadier General William L. Lee** — U.S. Air Force, Retired, Amarillo, Texas

* **D. B. Lewis** — President, Dr. Ross Pet Food Company; T.V. sponsor of Dan Smoot, Los Angeles, Calif

Milton M. Lory — President American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Past Pres. Gen'l., S.A.R., Sioux City, Iowa

* **Lieutenant General Sumter L. Lowry** — U.S. Air Force, Retired, Tampa, Fla.

* **Clarence E. Manion** — Former Dean, Notre Dame Law School, Moderator, "The Manion Forum", South Bend, Indiana

Miss Betty McCinkey — Director Anti-Communist Crusaders, Des Moines, Iowa

Thurman H. McCoy — Patriotic Retail Merchant, Atlanta, Ga

Brigadier General Richard B. Moran — Distinguished patriot and military man, decorated by governments of five countries, Kerrville, Texas

Robert E. Nesmith — Patriotic Industrialist, Houston, Texas

* **Dr. Revilo P. Oliver** — Professor, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Mrs. Jessica Wyatt Payne — W. Va. Americanism Chairman, American Legion Auxiliary, Huntington, W. Va.

* **Honorable M. T. Phelps** — Former Chief Justice of Arizona, Phoenix, Ariz

* **Hugh S. Ramsey, M. D.** — Conservative Crusader, Bloomington, Ind.

* **Honorable John H. Rousselot** — Congressman from California.

* **R. B. Snowden** — Distinguished Arkansas Planter, Memphis, Tenn

Honorable Wint Smith — Former Congressman from Kansas, Manhattan, Kans

Lieutenant General George S. Stratemeyer — U.S. Army, Retired, Winter Park, Fla

Dr. Charles C. Tansill — Noted Historian, Author "Back Door to War," etc., Washington, D.C.

John R. Trevor, Jr. — Outstanding Patriot, New York, N.Y.

Harold Lord Varney — Pres. Comm. on Pan-American Policy, New York, N.Y.

Colonel William E. Warner — Chairman, Ohio Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Columbus, Ohio

Wheeler Williams, N.A. — Famous Sculptor (of the Robert Taft Memorial, etc.), New York, N.Y.

* **Major General C. A. Willoughby** — Chief of Intelligence for General MacArthur during World War II and the Korean War, Washington, D.C.

* indicates persons identified by the John Birch Society as being or having been members of its Executive Committee, National Council, Committee of Endorsers, or Editorial Advisory Committee.

Christian Crusade brochure announcing the August, 1962 convention speakers in addition to headliners Martin Dies, former Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and Dr. Bella Dodd, former Communist Party official.

PLUS...

. . . Seven sessions featuring dynamic speakers brought from all over the nation to speak to this great National Convention!

MAJ. GEN. CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY, Christian Crusade's valued Washington correspondent; former Chief of Intelligence for General Douglas MacArthur. Authority on foreign intrigue and international relations. Brilliant analyst of trouble spots around the world.

DR. BILLY JAMES HARGIS, founder-director of Christian Crusade, now beginning his fifteenth year as America's Crusading Evangelist. Appears on daily and weekly radio and television; author, lecturer and authority on communist tactics. He will deliver his annual "State of the Union" message.

GEN. WILLIAM P. CAMPBELL, Searcy, Arkansas. Vice President of National Education Program, Searcy, formerly Assistant Chief of Finance, U. S. Army. Recipient of George Washington Honor Medal from Freedoms Foundation; producer of famous film, "Communism on the Map"

CONG. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT, brilliant and fearless young California Congressman, and speaker at Christian Crusade's Anti-Communist Leadership School. He recently won the Republican nomination for his office. One of the most dynamic and courageous statesmen in our Capitol today!

M. CAMACHO, Boston, Massachusetts, Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs. Just returned from Angola, Africa and will bring the audience a first-hand report from this land of torture, terror and assassination.

DR. CHARLES POLING, Wickenburg, Arizona, former pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Phoenix, member of one of America's foremost Christian families. An outspoken critic of liberalism in religion, he was actively engaged for many years in evangelism within the church. Retired from the pulpit, he spends his time writing and filling speaking engagements.

MAJOR HARRY KNICKERBOCKER, Dallas patriot, whose discovery that Yugoslav pilots were being trained in America, and his subsequent letter to Senator John Tower concerning it, led to the National Indignation Rallies throughout America.

DR. BOB JONES, SR., internationally known evangelist and founder of Bob Jones University, Greenville, S. C. He is founder and vice-president of the Board of the Gospel Fellowship Association. An active minister for more than 60 years, he is well-known author and edits "The Fellowship News," a national religious weekly.

KARL PRUSSION, Los Angeles, California, was for 26 years a Communist, almost half of which he was an undercover agent for the F. B. I. Hear how he was lured into the Communist conspiracy, how he watched Red Fascism infiltrate America!

WESTBROOK PEGLER, intrepid American journalist and veteran syndicated columnist. Mr. Pegler has for many years indicted the ultra-liberal element in America, thus bringing to himself great criticism from these areas.

MILTON M. LORY, Sioux City, Iowa, President of American Coalition of Patriotic Societies and Past President General of the Sons of the American Revolution.

(remounted to fit page)

Benjamin Gitlow, former Secretary of the American Communist Party; Sponsor, Dr. Fred Schwarz's Greater New York Rally and School of Anti-Communism; speaker, Christian Crusade's "National Anti-Communist Leadership School" in Tulsa, 1/29-2/2/62.

Gen. C. A. Willoughby (ret.), formerly Chief of Intelligence for General MacArthur; Young Americans for Freedom, Christian Crusade, John Birch Society, Conservative Society of America and National Economic Council.

Representative John H. Rousselot (R-Calif.), John Birch Society and Christian Crusade.

Bella Dodd, former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party; Sponsor, Schwarz's Greater New York Rally and School of Anti-Communism; and Young Americans for Freedom.

Karl Hess, former editor of Counter-Attack, former Washington newsman, employee of the Republican National Committee, 1949-50, Assistant to the President of Champion Papers, 1958-61, and recently editor of World, the weekly Washington newspaper.

(b) Ties with other organizations

1. John Birch Society: Hargis is an Endorser of the Society (1962 brochure and the National Advisory Committee of the Christian Crusade includes 18 people prominent in the John Birch Society, as is shown on page 13. At the Third Annual Convention of the Christian Crusade, five top Birchers were on Hargis's platform, led by Robert Welch, the Founder. Others were Tom Anderson, Lawrence Bunker, Fred Koch and Clarence Manion. (8/4-6/61)

2. We, The People! : Hargis served as President of this extremely right-wing group from 1960 into 1962, when he was named President Emeritus and a super-position—National Chairman—was created for Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture from 1953 to 1960. Also, Hargis's column appears regularly in Free Enterprise, published by Harry Everingham, Founder and now President of We, The People! This organization is one of the most extreme of all the right-wing. For example, its 1961 platform called for impeachment of Chief Justice Warren, and the 1960 position included "getting US out of UN and UN out of US." It customarily meets jointly with the National Committee for Economic Freedom, the chief pressure group for repealing the Federal income tax.

3. Manion Forum: The radio-pamphleteering program of former Notre Dame Law School Dean Clarence Manion interlocks in many ways with Hargis's operation. Manion went to Tulsa to address the 1961 Crusade convention, and his Vice President in charge of organization — L. F. Reardon — helped at the February, 1962 meeting. According to Donald Quinn in the Oklahoma Courier, "Reardon said that in a private

capacity, he had been working for the Hargis Crusade on a part-time basis." (Congressional Record 4/16/62, p. 6059)

4. Liberty Lobby: Hargis is on the Board of Policy of this extremely right-wing group which pushes conservative legislation from its small Washington office and embraces a significant number of leaders of the John Birch Society and of We, The People! The chief organizer of Liberty Lobby has been Willis A. Carto, who has also published an anti-Semitic newsletter called Right. (FACTS, April 1962, p. 233)

5. American Mercury: Hargis wrote several articles for this magazine at a time when it was operated as a radical right-wing publication with anti-Semitic angles. His articles in the issues of February, October and December of 1957 and December of 1958 appeared when the once great magazine was serving as "an outlet for blatant anti-Semitism." (FACTS, April 1962, p. 232) Also, Hargis published a report in the December, 1956, issue of Christian Crusade on a meeting with the then publisher of the American Mercury at which, he said, they agreed to exchange articles and to offer special subscription rates.

6. National Indignation Convention: Hargis addressed a meeting of this group at the Broadmoor International Center in Colorado Springs, describing the Supreme Court as "an atheistic group which has declared war against God." (Denver Post 6/30/62) The group was formed at Dallas in 1961 to protest the training of Yugoslavian pilots at U. S. bases.

7. Daughters of the American Revolution: Hargis delivered a major address at the DAR's 1961 convention in Washington. His subject was "We Have Been Betrayed." (Washington Post 4/16/61)

8. Congress of Freedom: Hargis was listed as a luncheon speaker at the 1960 meeting of this far-right group, in Columbus, Ohio, April 7. His subject was "We have been betrayed." In 1962, for instance, the Congress of Freedom called for getting out of the United Nations, termination of foreign aid, a free market for farmers, so-called right-to-work laws, and repeal of the Federal income tax.

9. International Council of Christian Churches: This is the fundamentalist organization of Rev. Carl McIntire, who is also head of the U. S. branch, the American Council of Christian Churches. Hargis has been a member of the former, and his campaign to send Bibles by balloon into communist countries was under its auspices. ("The Truth" by Carl McIntire, 20th Century Reformation Hour, Collingswood, N. J., p. 18) An article by McIntire appeared in the September, 1961, issue of Christian Crusade.

Three of the big names in the American Council of Churches, organized to protest the "modernism" of the National Council of Churches, are

McIntire, Hargis and Rev. Harvey Springer, of Englewood, Colorado. As far back as 1954, Springer's rabidly anti-Catholic publication, Western Voice, published several articles by Hargis attacking modernism, liberalism and communism. (FACTS, April 1962)

(c) Ties with other individuals

The following individuals have been significantly connected with the Hargis activities. For the most part, this listing is in addition to the official leaders of the Christian Crusade who appear earlier in this report or have been described elsewhere. See Sec 2 - IND, for more details.

Mrs. Harry A. Alexander, described as "an official of the Daughters of the American Revolution who directed a state textbook investigation at the request of Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett in 1959," addressed Hargis's National Anti-Communist Leadership School. (Tulsa Tribune 2/2/62)

Congressman E. Y. Berry (R-S.D.) addressed Hargis's meeting at Washington, D. C., March 20, 1962. (FACTS, April 1962)

Walter V. Chopyk, public relations director of the United Anti-Communist Action Committee of western New York, addressed the Manitou Springs summer school on the subject of captive nations. (Congressional Record, 9/6/62, p. A6627)

Lt. Gen. Pedro A. Del Valle: At one time listed on the Crusade's National Advisory Committee, Del Valle is head of the Defenders of the American Constitution, has been active in other right-wing groups, and has displayed anti-Semitism frequently. (FACTS, April 1962) He is a former Marine Corps general.

W. L. Foster, Tulsa, deceased: According to the March, 1960, issue of Christian Crusade, Foster was Hargis's "business advisor." Foster had been a contributor to Gerald L. K. Smith and active in such right-wing groups as U. S. Day Committee, Congress of Freedom, Liberty Lobby, and We, The People! (FACTS, April 1962)

Col. Victor J. Fox, author of The Pentagon Case, which is promoted in Crusade publications, is also an available speaker from the American Opinion Speakers Bureau of the John Birch Society. (1962 brochure)

W. O. H. Garman, Pittsburgh, Pa., President of the Associated Gospel Churches of America, addressed the Manitou Springs summer school on "An Appeal to Christians to Support Strong Military Preparedness Programs" and on "Hatchet Men on the Left." (brochure)

Barbara Hartle, ex-secretary of the northwest district of the Communist Party, addressed Hargis's National Anti-Communist Leadership School. (Tulsa Daily World 1/31/62)

Dr. George J. Hess, Bunker Hill, Ill., President of the ultraright Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, addressed the Manitou Springs summer school on "Our Fight Against Socialized Medicine" and other subjects. Dr. Hess is also on the letterhead of the Courtney's Conservative Society of America (6/62) and is an Endorser of the John Birch Society. (1962 brochure)

Ed Hill, Tulsa, a Trustee of the Crusade (1962 brochure), appears to be the same Ed Hill who was listed by Gerald L. K. Smith, notorious anti-Jewish rabble-rouser, as a financial contributor to his Christian Nationalist Crusade of Los Angeles, totalling more than $5,000 for the years 1952-56 and 1958-60. (FACTS, April 1962, p. 232)

Joseph P. Kamp, long-time extremist pamphleteer. During the Little Rock desegregation crisis, Hargis distributed a leaflet offering a pamphlet called "The Lowdown on Little Rock," by Kamp. "We are proud to send you a copy . . ." he said. There is also evidence of even earlier cooperation in a letter dated September 4, 1958, from Kamp to Lester L. Buttram, Business Manager of the Christian Crusade, concerning 500 copies of a Kamp booklet, "Meet the Man," which Kamp stated had been rush-ordered by Hargis on June 27th.

Vern P. Kaub, President of the American Council of Christian Laymen, who has also been on the advisory board of We, The People!, is the author of the book, Communist-Socialist Propaganda in American Schools, which is offered by the Crusade for $1. He was once Vice-President in charge of research for the National Council for American Education, headed by Allen A. Zoll, notorious anti-Semite and harrasser of public schools.

Myers Lowman, founder of Circuit Riders, Inc., Cincinnati, appeared on the program of the 1962 Anti-Communist Leadership School at Tulsa (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2/27/62), and at least one of his books alleging communist activity in the National Council of Churches has been advertised in Christian Crusade magazine. (Sept. 1962)

Gen. Richard Moran, Kerrville, Texas, addressed the Manitou Springs summer school on "The Supreme Court, Council of Foreign Relations and Communism" and on "The March of Liberalism." He is on the National Advisory Committee of the Crusade.

Revilo P. Oliver, Professor of Classics at the University of Illinois, got a whistling, cheering, standing ovation at Hargis's National Anti-Communist Leadership School in Tulsa for demanding that traitors be punished, for defending Gen. Walker, for attacking taxes to "win the favor of every mangy cannibal in Africa," etc. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2/27/62)

Albert Alford Payne, former lobbyist for the National Association of Real Estate Boards and employee of the Americans for Constitutional Action, and more recently working for Iowans for Effective Citizenship, is a member of the Christian Crusade, according to the Des Moines Register 9/8/61.

R. Carter Pittman, Georgia lawyer, John Birch Society endorser, and active in the White Citizens Council, addressed Hargis's Leadership School at Tulsa, 1/29/62. "The Negroes are unstable, impulsive, irresponsible, lacking judgement, tenacity, or humility," he declared. Hargis met Pittman when he visited the latter's library, a well-known source of right-wing literature. (Atlanta Journal-Constitution 6/10/62)

Dr. Charles Poling, former Pastor of the First Presbyterian Churches in Long Beach and Phoenix, addressed the Manitou Springs summer school on "My Fight Against the National Council of Churches" and other subjects. The Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegram (7/8/62) quoted him as saying that "the Communists want to ban all nuclear testing and they are against the right-to-work laws and so is the National Council."

Captain Edward V. Rickenbacker, board chairman of Eastern Airlines and World War hero: "Rickenbacker got applause and cheers in a cpeech during which he advocated the elimination of the income tax and called for a halt to foreign aid." (St. Louis Post-Dispatch report, 2/27/62, of speech to Hargis's Anti-Communist Leadership School at Tulsa in 1962.)

Maj. Arch Roberts, forced to leave active Army duty for his extremist speech to the DAR's 1962 convention, addressed the Manitou Springs summer school on "My Fight for Freedom Against Military Muzzling." Roberts had worked with former Gen. Edwin A. Walker on his "pro-blue" program of right-wing troop indoctrination.

Congressman Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio), a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, was an instructor at Hargis's National Anti-Communist Leadership School at Tulsa. (N. Y. Times 1/15/62) His remarks stressed the dangers of internal subversion.

Wickliffe Vennard, Houston, Texas: In August of 1957, Christian Crusade plugged by letter Vennard's book on the Federal Reserve, and Hargis described the author as "a dear and trusted friend of Christian Crusade." The Anti-Defamation League says that the book contains "open charges of an anti-Semitic nature." (FACTS, April 1962)

Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, who was forced to resign over his right-wing troop indoctrination in Germany and was later arrested for insurrection at Oxford, Mississippi, addressed the 1962 Crusade convention at Tulsa. (Christian Crusade, Sept. 1962)

Rev. E. F. Webber, of Oklahoma City, a former associate of Gerald Winrod and publisher of a magazine called Truth. Webber and Hargis jointly staged a series of one-day crusades in Texas in 1958. When Webber died, in 1959, Hargis wrote a tribute to him in Christian Crusade. (FACTS, April 1962, p. 232)

Opal Tanner White, long-time colleague and assistant of Gerald L. K. Smith, attended Hargis's Washington meeting in 1962 to coordinate the right-wing. (FACTS, April 1962)

Gerald Winrod, notorious bigot from Kansas: Hargis wrote in the October, 1959, issue of his Christian Crusade that he once called on Winrod for guidance in beginning his radio programs. "Dr. Winrod explained the operations of an office and the use of letters to underwrite the cost of such an expensive operation," he reported. Also, articles and letters by Hargis have appeared in Winrod's hate magazine, The Defender, one of them an appeal to the Federal Communications Commission in behalf of Winrod as a radio pastor.

Allen Zoll: "Last year the Crusade purchased Allen A. Zoll's library of 10,000 to 15,000 books dealing with Communism and its ramifications. Zoll was associated with the extremist Gerald L. K. Smith at one time and Zoll's American Patriots Inc. was on the Attorney General's list as a 'fascist' group. Asked about Zoll, White /Hargis's publicity man/ said that he was never a Crusade staffer, but had a three-month association with the Crusade last year, raising funds that permitted the Crusade to buy his library." (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2/27/62)

V. Hargis quotes:

On liberals: "For 14 years, I thought the 'ism' that was the greatest threat to our nation was Communism. Now, I am convinced it is liberalism. The liberals have the finances and numerical strength the Communists lack; yet their socialistic objectives are much the same." (Seattle Times 8/20/62)

"I'm more concerned with liberals than with Communists (because there are more of them). Most of them are honestly mistaken, but they are doing more to ruin our country than any other single thing." (Eugene, Oregon, Register-Guard 8/14/62)

"Sam Newhouse, like many owners of 'liberal' newspapers, is an interesting man. He has made millions off our free enterprise system. Yet, among his newspapers such as the Denver Post and the Oregon Journal, you will find some of the rankest liberal publications in the country. Isn't this a clear case of biting the hand that feeds you? *** I am 100% behind the proposed Congressional investigation into the newspaper profession." (letter from Hargis to supporters, August, 1962)

"To be a real good liberal, you've got to be 100 percent stupid." (Oklahoma Courier, reprinted in Congressional Record 4/16/62, p. 6061)

On politics: "I personally think Senator Goldwater would make a marvelous President. Goldwater knows, as I know, that local Birch Society members are fine patriots, second to none." (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1/31/62)

Hargis admits that his public support of Candidate Eisenhower in 1952 'was a mistake.'" (Oklahoma Courier, reprinted in Congressional Record 4/16/62, p. 6061)

On education and schools: "the left-wing radical group called the NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION . . ." (Weekly Crusader 9/14/62)

"We want these /right-wing/ organizations to be effective. We want them to grow, to move forward in teaching the dangers of communism in schools and educational seminars. We got such a course in Arizona schools, we're working on Texas — where it's a hot fight — and if we get that, we'll get Florida." (Washington Daily News 3/20/62)

On race: "Regardless of what the Negroes think, regardless of what the entire South thinks, segregation and racism have become one of America's great 'social crises', one of the most artificial of all such crises, instigated by the Communists within America to add racial hatred to class hatred, and thus betray America into Communist hands through betrayal of the American Negro." (Communist America — Must It Be?, by Hargis, p. 97)

"We have never had any racism or anti-Semitism in this movement. I have called Gerald L. K. Smith a phony . . . When I figured it out, I knew I was dead wrong to deprive the Negroes of their Constitutional rights. I'm criticized for this stand in the South." (The Nation 9/30/61)

The communist threat: "Within the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, according to Herbert A. Philbrick, who spent nine years in the Communist party as a counterspy for the FBI, will be found fully one-third of the top echelon of the Communist conspirators in this country. It is estimated that from 75 to 80 percent of the responsible officers in the department are conspirators." (Communist America — Must It Be?, by Hargis, p. 58)

"We conservatives all agree on one thing — that our problem is almost entirely from internal subversion." (N. Y. Times 8/6/61)

"There is no sense in kidding ourselves. Socialism and Communism are one and the same." (Communist America — Must It Be?, by Hargis, p. 57)

Other subjects: "It is my contention that the majority of the American newspapers are actively promoting the Communist line." (Communist America — Must It Be?, by Hargis, p. 29)

"Yes, I suppose you could call me ultra rightist. That's one of the nicer things I've been called." (Denver Post 6/3/62)

"My crusade cannot fail. It is of God." (Saturday Evening Post 4/28/62)

". . . Hargis . . . said . . . the U. S. Supreme Court should be impeached for its recent ruling banning prayer in public schools. He said the court decision marked the 'darkest day and saddest hour in American history.'" (Denver Post 6/30/62)

VI. References

"Sowing Dissension in the Churches," mimeographed by the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Department of Social Relations, 281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y.; pages 11-15.

"Rev. Billy James Hargis: The Christian Crusade;" April 1962 issue of FACTS; published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue,, New York 22, N. Y.

"A Crusader Takes Stand," by Peter Edson, Washington Daily News, March 20, 1962.

"The Rev. Billy James Hargis's Crusade Viewed As One of Most Significant of Anti-Red Groups;" by William K. Wyant, Jr.; St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Feb. 27, 1962.

"Doomsday Merchant On the Far, Far Right;" by Harold H. Martin; Saturday Evening Post, April 28, 1962.

Series of three articles by Donald Quinn, Oklahoma Courier, a Catholic diocesan weekly; reprinted in the Congressional Record, April 16, 1962 pages 6058-6062.

"Saving America, Inc.," by John Kay Adams, The Nation, Sept. 30, 1961.

Group Research, Inc.
328 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

HART, MERWIN K., New York City

Sec 2 - IND
7/19/62

President, National Economic Council

Characterized as a "long time anti-Semite" (Facts, published by the Anti-Defamation League, Nov.-Dec. 1961)

Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society (1/3/62 brochure) and leader of a New York City Chapter of the Society (Gene Grove, Inside the John Birch Society, Fawcett, 1961, p. 147)

One of the leaders of "Platform for Patriotic Americans," a statement of beliefs circulated by the National Economic Council and Committee for Constitutional Government. (9/12/58 copy)

Wake Up America Committee (Free Enterprise, May 1962)

National Advisory Board, We, the People! (1961 brochure)

Advisory Board, Congress of Freedom, Inc. (1955 brochure)

National Board, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (NY Times 8/30/59) a John Birch Society "front". (Welch, Blue Book)

National Board of Fellows, The Freedom School, Colorado Springs (1959 Prospectus)

Chairman, American Union for Nationalist Spain, 1932-33 (Who's Who)

Leader of American Action, Inc. (John Roy Carlson, The Plotters, Dutton, 1946, p. 269)

Leader, Human Events Action Conference, January 6-7, 1961

"He started on his nationalist career with an article in Father Coughlin's Social Justice bearing his name, then appeared as the chairman of a rally sponsored by Christian Front elements. He visited Spain, where he spoke over the Falange radio. With that experience, Hart graduated to the role of an apologist in this country for Franco." (Carlson, op cit, p. 279)

(Group Research, Inc.)

(Replaces page on Hunter dated 3/23/62)

Sec 2 - IND
9/28/62

HUNTER, EDWARD, Arlington, Va.

Writer and lecturer, consultant to Congressional committees on brainwashing and anti-communism. Claims to have originated the term "brainwashing."

Former U.S. and overseas news correspondent for Hearst newspapers. In Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II. A former "expert witness" for Senator McCarthy. (Drew Pearson, Washington Post, 4/7/62)

Chairman, Anti-Communist Liaison, a coalition of right-wing groups organized at the meeting called by Rev. Billy James Hargis in Washington, D.C., March 22, 1962. See Sec 1 - ORG.

National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (letterhead 2/16/62)

Board of Directors, American-Asian Educational Exchange (letterhead, 3/30/62)

Broadcast on Manion Forum, March 8, 1959 (10/59 Newsletter)

Signed petition sent to members of Congress March 21, 1962, in opposition to repeal of the two loyalty oath provisions in the National Defense Education Act.

Addressed National Anti-Communist Leadership School in Tulsa, Okla., sponsored by Rev. Billy James Hargis, Jan. 29 - Feb. 2, 1962.

Has appeared on programs of "Project Alert." (The Nation, 12/23/61)

Available speaker, American Opinion Speakers Bureau of the John Birch Society. (brochure, 1962)

Wrote article for American Opinion, John Birch Society magazine, attacking the Foreign Policy Association. (5/62 issue)

Speaker, National Freedom Education Center's Freedom Forum, 6/6-9/62. (brochure)

Has published articles in several right-wing magazines: Billy James Hargis's Weekly Crusader (6/15/62), the John Birch Society magazine American Opinion, (5/62), and Glenn Martz's Washington News Beat (11/61)

Author: Brainwashing: The Story of the Men Who Defied It; Brainwashing in Red China; Brainwashing: From Pavlov to Powers;* The Past Present; The Story of Mary Liu; * The Black Book on Red China,* commissioned by the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

* On John Birch Society list of approved books

Appeared for consultation with the staff of the House Un-American Activities Committee on "Communist Psychological Warfare (Brainwashing)" in March, 1958. His testimony was published by the HUAC and printed by the Government Printing Office. Hunter told the Committee's staff director that the Communists are engaged in a "total war" against the U.S. and that they were winning so decisive a victory by psychological warfare that military force was unnecessary. "The first battles in this total war have already been won by the forces of international communism in the United States. These victories are identical to those they have won in every country which they have ultimately taken over. They have succeeded in softening up a large element of the American population, particularly among ....our so-called intellectuals and our so-called liberal circles."

Testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 11, 1961. His testimony, published as "The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program" was widely circulated among right-wing groups, such as the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. The military muzzling hearings were one outcome of his testimony. (Washington News, 3/23/62)

Hunter claims in his testimony and his articles that the current opposition to anti-communist groups and activity in the U.S. is directed by the Communists. According to him, the Communists launched a new psychological warfare offensive against the U.S. in a meeting held in Moscow in December, 1960. This offensive was silmultaneously directed against the anti-communist movement in the U.S., as the only effective opposition to communist penetration of the American press, educational leadership, and the Kennedy administration. In contrast to this recent "outright Red-managed...and immensely more aggressive" campaign to destroy the anti-communist movement, the latter is "a genuine, popular movement, in the true American tradition, bred in the town hall and the old meeting house." (Washington News Beat, 11/61) Thus, according to Hunter, opposition to anti-communist groups or activities in the U.S. is communist in origin. In the appendix to his testimony, Hunter gave as examples of the new "Red anti-anti-Communist movement" a N.Y. Times article and a N.Y. Post editorial.

In Brainwashing, Hunter advocates a closed mind because it gives a man "moral strength" and contributes to "a satisfying pattern for survival against mental pressures." (p. 249) He goes on to contrast the merits of the closed mind to the "falsely academic" mentality that always sees some validity in the opposite point of view, and the liberal "open" mind; both of which he says are bound to succumb under the pressures of brainwashing. (pp. 258, 264)

In an article for the Milwaukee News (9/7/62) Hunter claimed that the State Department is providing protection for the Russians while they make a "base for space war out of Cuba." (Cong. Rec. 9/13/62, p. 18266) Another article by Hunter for the Milwaukee News, in which he urged immediate invasion of Cuba by the U.S., was reprinted with Hunter's permission in The Dan Smoot Report (9/17/62)

HUSS, WALTER
Portland, Oregon

Director, Freedom Center (Sec 1 - ORG)

Born in Portland 1918 and graduated from Benson Polytechnic High School. During 1940's he worked as a draftsman, part of the time in Southern California and for two years in the army. Of his work in California he says, "I have designed many segments of work which totaled many millions of dollars."

Admitting that he himself was not a licensed engineer, he countered that "I worked for licensed engineers there." (5/11/61 testimony before Portland City Council) Also, while in California, he enrolled in Life Bible College, at Los Angeles, and entered the ministry of the International Church of the Four Square Gospel, founded by Aimee Semple McPherson. His first pastorate was in Cave Junction, Oregon, in 1950 and the following year he was transferred to a Eugene church. In December, 1956, Huss, together with his wife, Rosalie and an Eleanor Wilson, incorporated Oregon Christian Schools, Inc., which proposed to "provide for and give weekday, standard Christian education in all levels." Huss was to be President for life and his wife was to succeed him in case of death, resignation or retirement. (Incorporation papers) The school reportedly maintained kindergarten through sixth grade classes.

In late 1958, apparently inspired by a Schwarz Christian Anti-Communism Crusade he attended in Long Beach, Huss organized a Freedom Crusade as the "adult education" program of his school. (Huss has said that he and his wife were "called to the bigger fight" of exposing the Communist conspiracy. Quoted in Portland Oregonian 5/12/61.) The following year a Portland branch was opened and by 1960 this had become the headquarters and the Oregon Christian School in Salem was closed. (See 5/11/61 testimony, op. cit.) In the spring of 1961, the name of the Freedom Crusade was changed to the Freedom Center. Huss has continued as President of the corporation and director of the Center as well as publisher of its monthly National Eagle. (See Sec 1 - ORG and Sec 3 - PUB)

In January, 1961 Huss attended the Human Events Political Action Conference in Washington, D. C. (List of early registrants; see also Huss testimoney 5/11/61)

In July, 1962 Huss served as General Coordinator for the Pacific Northwest Observance of "Captive Nations Emphasis." (7/4/62 letterhead)

Huss has a regular radio program (15 minutes each morning, Monday through Friday) over a Vancouver, Washington radio station.

Philosophy - Some selected quotations from Huss's Freedom Center publications follow:

--"The International Communist Conspiracy . . . has become the most highly disciplined and fabulously financed movement in history, threatening to engulf all property and enslave mankind. Only disciplined organizations, well-supplied with facilities and resources, can effectively oppose such a powerful and evil opponent."

IMPERIUM
by Ulick Varange, pseudonym of Francis Parker Yockey (Sec 2 - IND)

Acclaimed for his brilliance and talent as a youth, Francis Parker Yockey graduated from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service (1938) and studied law at Notre Dame where he was graduated cum laude (1941). Given an honorable discharge from the Army for medical reasons in 1942, he practiced law briefly in Michigan and Illinois before joining the War Crimes Commission at Wiesbaden, Germany in 1946.

Here he apparently became disillusioned over the prosecution of Nazi political and military leaders. Outraged at the charges brought against certain of them, he quit his job with the Commission and returned to the United States.

Returning to Europe in late 1947 he traveled to Brittas Bay, Ireland, where he began writing, without notes or source material, a political opus which was to contain his views of weltpolitik. Six months later the tome was completed and saw publication in 1948.

Produced in two volumes, 1,000 copies of the first volume were produced by C. A. Brooks & Co., Ltd. while only 200 copies of the second portion were printed by Jones & Dale, Ltd. (Imperium p. xii). An American edition was copyrighted and produced by the Noontide Press, Sausalito, California, in 1962. A first printing was available in November and a second printing followed in May, 1963.

Noontide Press, presumed to be the publishing house of Willis Carto (see Sec 2 - IND), also published WESTERN DESTINY, a defunct journal of Yockeyist writing. The acknowledged forerunners of Western Destiny--Northern World and Folk-- were the official publications of the Northern League which had its only American office in Sausalito as well (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 1105).

The London edition of Imperium is practically impossible to obtain today, but various organizations and publishing houses for rightist literature, both in England and the United States, advertise and promote the American edition. These include:

- American Opinion (Nov., 1963) John Birch Society
- American Survival Party
- Britons Publishing Co., Ltd. (England)
- National Renaissance Party Bulletin (article by Yockey appeared in January, 1955; later issues have advertised Imperium)
- National States Rights Party - Thunderbolt #55 (January, 1964)
- Right - #59 (August, 1960)
- Sons of Liberty
- Western Destiny (articles on Yockey and frequent advertisements for Imperium)

Written in mystical and pseudo-intellectual verbiage, the message of Imperium lies within the crypto-pseudonym selected by Yockey. As explained in the introduction (p. xxiii), Ulick is of Irish origin and means "reward of the mind," while Varange is derived from the Varangians, a band of Norse heroes led by Rurik who civilized Russia in the 9th Century.

The point is that of making a united Europe as the two names signify a union of western and eastern intellect. Yockey argued for a third political force which would be a combination of left-wing and right-wing ideological fringes.

Yockey was reported to be working closely with H. Keith Thompson once--Thompson had formerly been active in the left-wing of the American Progressive Party and declined to run for Congress in New York's Eighteenth Congressional District where American Labor Party candidate, Vito Marcantonio was running. Thompson subsequently endorsed Marcantonio (Reporter, 4/13/54).

Thompson registered with the State Department in 1952 as an agent of Dr. Rudolph Aschenauer, a Bavarian publisher and promoter of right-wing movements in Germany after the war. Thompson listed Frederick Charles F. Weiss and Ulick Varange as associates. (The Reporter, 4/13/54, p. 14) Yockey idea of a third force was realized on a small scale in the Bruderschaft movement in Germany (see Beyond Eagle and Swastika, pp. 122-132) and may be operative in the current efforts of Oswald Mosley wh has a program of a united Europe.

Written as a sequel to Spengler's Decline of the Wes Yockey rejects Nineteenth Century ideologies and attempts to mold a pathology of culture, a "cultural vitalism" of Western (world) survival. Commenting on his racial views, Yockey's sister characterized this aspect of his ideology as anti-Zionist, rather than anti-Semitic. (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/18/

An author surveying rightist political activity in Germany stated that Yockey's Imperium "outlined what he considers should be the master themes of fascist strategy: anti-Americanism, neutralism for Germany, and the avoidance of any anti-Soviet activi (The Reporter, 4/13/54, p. 14)

Willis Carto, who visited Yockey in his San Francis jail cell and later called him a "creative genius" an "a great man" (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/18/60), wrote the introduction to the American edition where he termed the book "prophetic" (p. xxiii).

Carto currently runs Liberty Lobby, Noontide Press American Mercury (see Secs. 1 and 2). Early in 196 he organized the National Youth Alliance from the re nants of Youth for Wallace, his 1968 entry in the poli field. NYA offered back copies of Carto's Western D tiny magazine and sold Imperium. (See, for examp NYA News reproduced on page 2.)

An indication of Imperium's place in the radical righ comes from a favorable review of the book in Americ can Opinion, the John Birch Society magazine, for November of 1963 (p. 43) by Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, a National Council member of the Society who was tore out or resigned in 1966 because of ugly references to Jews in a major speech.

Oliver's review stated that "writing in a small Irish town, with few or no books at his disposal, the autho made quite a number of unfortunate errors in his

reporting of history." However, he declared that "Yockey's major conclusion is substantially that which emerges from every honest and discerning attempt to construct a philosophy of history...."

Oliver's context for praise of the book is set forth a few paragraphs earlier, where he recounts that Yockey served on the legal staff of what he calls: "the 'trials' that the American conquerors staged in Germany as an obscene prelude to the lynchings at Nuremberg." Then he writes of "the spectacle provided by the sadists in American uniform who inflicted unspeakable tortures on helpless German prisoners to extort perjured testimony at the 'trials.'"

Carto's National Youth Alliance announced in the May 1969 issue of its News that Oliver had addressed the leaders shortly before and that his "momentous address," titled "Youth, Destiny, and Western Survival," will be published in three parts by American Mercury (not identified as another Carto enterprise).

It was also announced that Oliver is Chairman of NYA's National Advisory Board -- along with right-wing anti-Semites Richard Cotten (Sec 2 - IND), Admiral John Crommelin, Gen. Pedro del Valle (Sec 2 - IND), and Austin J. App.

Daniel Burros, the former American Nazi, National Renaissancer, and Klansman who committed suicide when his Jewish origins were revealed, referred to Imperium as "the Bible of the American Right Wing." (New York Times, 10/30/65; also see One More Victim, pp. 161-163)

Sources

Rosenthal, A. M., and Arthur Gelb, One More Victim: The Life and Death of a Jewish Nazi (New York: New American Library, 1967).

Tauber, Kurt P., Beyond Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism Since 1945 (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1967).

Taylor, Edmond, "Germany: Where Communism and Fascism Meet," The Reporter, (April 13, 1954), pp. 10-17.

(Group Research, Inc.)

[illegible] Times, [illegible]

IMPERIUM

This book, by Francis Parker Yockey, is now available in a handsome paperback edition ideal for distribution on campus. Many consider the book to be the most creative work of our lifetime. It has so terrified the culture distorters, and their lackeys, that a major smear campaign has been launched against its publishers. Once again we have observed that academic freedom and freedom of expression do not apply when the interests of liberals and internationalists are threatened. If you believe that "free speech" is not strictly a privilege of the left, if you are unafraid of bold new concepts, if you refuse to be intimidated by the hypocritical squawking of frightened love-mongers on a book-burning binge, we recommend that you read Imperium, available from NYA National Headquarters at $2.50 per copy, or two copies for $4.00.

INGRAM, REV. T. (TOLBERT) ROBERT
Houston, Texas

Rector of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church and School

Biographical Data

Now in his early fifties, Ingram was born in Denver, Colorado, and studied at Colorado A. & M. and the University of Washington (with a BA from the latter). In the late 1930's he spent three years on the staff of the Denver Post and then was associate editor of the Oil and Gas Journal in Tulsa, Oklahoma. During the war he served as a Navy officer in the South Pacific. After the war he worked on the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and in 1946 "produced and directed" a mission film for the Episcopal Church. In 1947 he entered the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Cambridge, Mass. While in the seminary he also worked for the Boston Globe. Ordained in 1950, he served churches in Weirton, West Va. and Abilene, Texas prior to taking the post at Houston's St. Thomas' Church in 1954. "He has founded two successful parochial schools," and was given a Good Citizenship award for his work "in Christian education," by a Houston chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. (The Citizen, June, 1962; see also James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, p. 219, for biographical information.)

Ingram's activities on the right-wing in Houston have included service on the reception committee for Gen. Edwin Walker when he launched his 1962 gubernatorial campaign (Texas Observer 6/15/62), and have earned for him characterization as "the intellectual spokesman for the far right" (Homer Bigart in N. Y. Times 10/10/62) and "High Priest of the Houston patrioteers" (Willie Morris in Harper's, October, 1961). The Bishop of his diocese "says Mr. Ingram represents a far-out minority in the church." (Bigart, loc. cit.) In Houston, Ingram appeared as spokesman for a group known as "The Fish," which he said came into being after the 1961 Episcopal General Convention and was made up of "voters whose conscience requires that they make themselves known as professing Christians who seek to preserve the Christian structure of American society." (Texas Observer 6/15/62. Ingram repudiated statements that the wearers of the fish are a group of "right-wing conservatives," and said the emblem had religious rather than political significance. See Houston Chronicle 5/2/62)

Publications

Author: Lambeth, Unity and Truth (Bellaire, Texas, St. Thomas Press, 1959, 52 pages), subtitled "A Reply to the Pastoral Letter Issued by the House of Bishops /of the Episcopal Church/ Meeting in General Convention, Miami, Florida, October, 1958." The book is aimed at the ecumenical movement and internationalism in general and participation of American clergymen in the annual Lambeth conferences in England in particular. Of the pastoral letter, which included a warning that we must be "ready to grant to others the opportunity and equality we cherish for ourselves," Ingram writes: "The doctrines set forth in the letter appear to be so radically different from the catholic expressions of Christianity as to amount to proposals for a new religion." (p. 32)

The World Under God's Law (Houston, St. Thomas Press, 1962, 123 pages), subtitled "Criminal Aspects of the Welfare State." The book states as its purpose to consider "each of the Ten Commandments in order, together with typical laws based upon each one," and to show that "each one is the target of a widespread organized attack for repeal . . . As we go through the Ten Commandments, the inevitable socialist alternative, subject only to conscious human will, will appear as an intended objective of those who so ardently oppose the modern criminal code." (p. 9)

Editor: Essays on Segregation (Houston, St. Thomas Press, 1960, 106 pages). Ingram himself contributed an Introduction and one essay. Others contributing to the book were five southern clergymen -- all, like Ingram, affiliated with the Episcopal Church. Included was Rev. James P. Dees, an avowed admirer of Gerald L. K. Smith. (See James Graham Cook, op. cit., p. 226) In his Introduction, Ingram states the book's purpose as: "to show . . . that men who are by all available tests Christian, learned and experienced, not only have not been persuaded that 'integration' is the unshakable will of God but are inclined to believe that the very social structure 'integration' attacks is more in accord with the will of God than the fearful evils of a society of forced integration." (p. 1)

Organizational Ties

Americans for Constitutional Action -- Trustee (1/29/65 press release)

John Birch Society -- In 1961 Ingram gave the invocation at a Houston speech by Robert Welch (Texas Observer 4/25/61), and more recently he was scheduled as a speaker at a rally held by the Birmingham, Ala. John Birch Society in honor of the national JBS head (Birmingham Post-Herald 6/16/64).

Christian Freedom Foundation -- Director (Christian Economics 2/23/65). He has been listed at least since early 1958 and has also contributed to Christian Economics on occasion. (See his article, "Federal Domination of Education," in the 4/2/63 issue /reprinted by Human Events 7/6/63/, and a book review by him in the 11/17/64 issue.)

Congress of Freedom -- Ingram has addressed at least 3 annual meetings: 1960 in Columbus, Ohio (his was the keynote address and was reprinted by Congress of Freedom); 1962 in Houston, Texas (see reprint of speech in The Greater Nebraskan, Spring, 1962); and 1963 in New Orleans (see report of convention in ibid., May, 1963). An article by him on the importance of the National Guard has also appeared in The Greater Nebraskan (issue of May, 1960).

Citizens' Councils -- Ingram has both spoken before and written for these segregationist groups. (See The Citizen, December, 1961, June, 1962 and November, 1963)

Life Line -- He has appeared as guest clergyman on the Life Line radio broadcast at least three times: 5/31/64, 11/29/64 and 3/28/65.

American Mercury -- Ingram appeared on the masthead of this far-right magazine during the first year of its ownership by The Legion for the Survival of Freedom, Inc. (McAllen, Texas) -- listed as Religious Editor January through April, 1963, and as Contributing Editor October, 1963 through January, 1964. (He is no longer listed.) During this period, most of his book, The World Under God's Law, was reprinted in installment form by the Mercury.

Americans for Freedom of Speech for Civil Servants -- Ingram was listed on the Advisory Committee of this New Orleans group, which was set up to protest the firing, for Hatch Act violation, of a customs inspector who contended he was engaging only in anti-Communist activities. George Prechter, the Chairman of Americans for Freedom of Speech had previously been head of the New Orleans Indignation Committee. On the 8-man Advisory Board with Ingram were such noted figures on the far-right as Tom Anderson, of the John Birch Society; Milton Lory, of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies; and Dr. Marque O. Nelson, of the United States Day Committee. (Ingram's and other names from July, 1963 letterhead)

Association of Christian Schools -- Ingram was evidently an organizer of this Houston group described by reporter Willie Morris as having been set up by "ultra-conservative businessmen . . . with the purpose of advancing 'the cause of Christian education.'" (Harper's, October, 1961)

Christian Americans, Inc. -- Another Houston group, for which Ingram has done radio broadcasts. (Texas Observer 6/15/62. Presumably this group has only the name in common with the one operated in Houston in the 1930's by Vance Muse. See John Ray Carlson, The Plotters, pp. 270-2.)

Texas Voters for Enforcing the Constitution -- Ingram was formerly listed (on a 1962 letterhead, but deleted on a 1963 one) as "Chaplain" of this group, which is headed by a John C. Williams (currently a member of the Executive Council of Defenders of the American Constitution). Texas Voters has distributed such materials as Closer Up (an anti-Semitic newsletter) and has sponsored a speaking appearance (in late 1963) by Admiral Crommelin.

Viewpoint

Basic to Ingram's viewpoint is an alleged dichotomy between those who are concerned with the "world that is to be" and those who seek any "Kingdom of God" on earth. The former, he says, recognize the sovereignty of Christ, while the latter seek the sovereignty of man.

> Now there is one alternative to the sovereignty of Christ for which man can strive, even though most of us would agree that alternative is a false hope and an empty dream. . . . It is the sovereignty of man. (April, 1960 speech to Congress of Freedom)

The latter position is synonymous, in Ingram's view, to Communism and the anti-Christ:

> . . . Many a man who would be horrified to think of himself as a Communist is nonetheless enslaved to Satan's offer of the government of the world. Because he accepts the sovereignty of man (inevitably the governing man) he must be in full sympathy with the aims and purposes of Communism. (Ibid.)

This dichotomy is basic also to Ingram's insistence on a doctrine of 'salvation by faith' and not by 'works': "No man or woman is required to change anything about himself or the world in order to receive the greatest gift that any creature can have -- eternal life . . . ." (Essays on Segregation, p. 88) And, it is implicit in his view that the "liberal movement" seeks to break down "government by punishment" (based on the Ten Commandments) and to replace it with "government by regulation." (See The World Under God's Law, p. 3)

Selected Quotes

-- On integration: "Here is the two-pronged policy of the Apostolic Church, when confronted with a bi-cultural world -- a world divided between two vast racial groups . . . . Let each remain what he is. Christ is enough for either. Any other procedure is to annul the force of pure faith in the Lord of all life." (Essays on Segregation, p. 79) "Let us not be lulled into a stupor by sweet talk, and let us not be too naive to admit that what is called 'integration' is nothing more nor less than the organized attack of the forces of Hell upon God's order in nature and in human society." (The Citizen, June, 1962) "Every person who declares the principle of equal rights (as expressed in the integration movement) is calling Jesus, the great discriminator, accursed." (Ibid., November, 1963) "'Equality' is certainly an old chestnut which has never been acceptable to any expression of Christianity or its offshoots as an ultimate value, and it does not express 'justice.' So-called egalitarianism is a horror of a piece with anarchy . . . ." (Lambeth, Unity and Truth, p. 48)

-- On public education: "The public school system . . . was established 125 years ago as a means of realizing a particular kind of unity in America. . . . It may well have been overemphasized and have turned into a bone for dogs to fight over." (Atlantic, February, 1950. As will be seen, Ingram's views on the question have considerably hardened since.) "The system of so-called public schools -- a name, incidentally, of recent application -- begins and ends with the proposition that children are born to serve the ends of the state." (The World Under God's Law, p. 68)

"By every conceivable test the government school system is a criminal failure: it has not taught; it has demolished morals; the Christian religion is virtually unknown, even by many clergyman, and our nation is unable even to see its own interests at home and abroad." (Ibid., p. 69)

-- On democracy: "The founding fathers of our nation were under no illusions about democracy. They knew it for what it is, the demos, or demon, or spirit of evil. . . . The Soviets are quite correct in referring to themselves as democracies. They are pure democracy, a sovereignty in and of this world, whose supernatural power is Satan and whose servants must fight."

(April, 1960 speech to Congress of Freedom)

-- On war: "I think . . . that the government of the United States has a solemn duty to wage war against the butchers and tyrants who head various socialistic tyrannies. I am sure that war with the Soviet like war in all human history, will bring great suffering and hardship upon the whole population. I do not agree that the next war will be any more horrible than war has always been . . . . The world hasn't been without war since 1939, and somehow the doom threats that are designed to make us surrender have not come to pass." (March, 1962 speech to Congress of Freedom, reprinted in The Greater Nebraskan, Spring, 1962; also reprinted in The Cross and the Flag, October, 1962; and in brochure form by New Age Publishing Co., of Yucca Valley, Calif.)

-- On capital punishment: "The liberal movement confirms the key importance of capital punishment by its own dedication to its 'abolition.' It is necessary to try to strip the government of its power to kill in order to destroy Christian civilization and replace it with a reformed system. . . . The reformed system would be a world government." (The World Under God's Law, p. 17) "The power of death is the supreme power of temporal rule: it belongs to God and is delegated to man. . . . When a human life can be paid for by a fine, as it can among non-Christian peoples, or when it can be paid for by a few years of enforced confinement, as it is among us all too often, life is cheap." (Ibid., p. 77)

-- On the income tax: "The income tax, which seizes property under pain of the most severe punishment, virtually abolishes any man's control over what is his own, and substitutes full government regulation over all life for just punishment of crime. The state, which is supposed to punish thieves, becomes itself a monster thief." (Ibid., p. 97)

-- On the United Nations: ". . . Moreover we, who deny total power and the attributes of God to our own Congress, would not be so base as to try to unite all power in the monstrosity, the hideous man-worshipping beast of the East River called the United Nations." (Ibid., p. 29)

-- On organized labor: "From terms of employment, the union inevitably proceeds to the management of the business and claims its right to run the whole thing. All this is done with the support and often advice of the government, which even supervises union elections, thus giving unions a legitimate status under law." (Ibid., p. 118)

-- On the National Council of Churches: "Fortunately, the Council of Churches is in no way representative of American Christianity, or any other, for that matter." (Ibid., p. 39)

-- On the assassination of Kennedy: "It is most unlikely that any assassination takes place apart from a conspiracy -- assassination of a great leader -- and we know that this man, who beyond a shadow of doubt in the opinion of responsible officials in Dallas is guilty of the murder, has long been connected with a great widespread international conspiracy. Further, we know that his own murder cannot be reasonably accounted for except as an act of that same conspiracy to keep him from talking and to make sure that there is no legal guilt established." (Sermon at "Memorial Service," reprinted in Christian Crusade, January, 1964)

-- A potpourri: "We are perfectly entitled to assume the truth of any serious public accusation which is not challenged by the victim under the laws of slander and libel." (The World Under God's Law, p. 108) "The government of the anti-Christ is characterized by three key features: it requires its head, a man, to be worshipped as god; it accomplishes amazing mechanical and scientific signs and wonders to bedazzle the minds of men; and it regulates the market." (Ibid., p. 106) "Today we even ask the state to pay unwed mothers so much per illegitimate child. Present conditions are but a hair's breadth from the ultimate socialist dream, a community of wives." (Ibid. p. 88) ". . . . There was the breathtaking uprising against Christians led by Mohammed; and no sooner had that been finally reduced to size than the center of Satanism moved to central Europe and emerged in the form of illuminism and communism." (Life Line broadcast, 3/28/65)

T. Robert Ingram, noted Episcopal priest, has won nationwide acclaim for his uncompromising stand for racial integrity. He is Rector of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church in Houston, Tex. The Colorado-born Mr. Ingram is widely known as a clergyman, educator and author. One of his books, "Essays On Segregation," was hailed by churchmen, editors and lawmakers throughout the South as a major contribution to pro-segregation thought. Mr. Ingram [illegible] his penetrating

(from The Citizen, November, 1963)

IT'S VERY SIMPLE - THE TRUE STORY OF CIVIL RIGHTS
a book by Alan Stang
218 pages, published in 1965 by Western Islands (a subsidiary of the John Birch Society), 75¢ in paperback, $5 in hardback.

Publication of It's Very Simple was announced in the John Birch Society Bulletin for July, 1965 -- at the same time that JBS leader Robert Welch announced the selection of "the 'civil rights' fraud" as a major battleground for the Society and issued the directive for the organization of TACT ("Truth About Civil Turmoil") Committees at the local level. The new book was announced as the MMM Bonus for the month (i.e., sent out to those who returned Member's Monthly Memos to headquarters), and recommended under the standing Agenda item, "Your Own Reading."

In the September Bulletin a price reduction from $1 to 75¢ for the paperback edition was announced, and by the first week in October, Welch was reporting that 300,000 copies were in print and more on order. "Again we confess to hopes which appear extravagant," he continued,

> but the fact remains that getting ten million copies of this book distributed and read would be a realistic and powerful blow in our battle against the deception and misunderstanding which have created the "civil rights" movement. (Bulletin for November, 1965, p. 52)

And, in the January, 1966, Bulletin, JBS members are urged as a "temporary project" to campaign for acquisition of the hardback edition by local public and school libraries.

The Book -- Message

In his one-page Preface, Alan Stang says, "This book restricts itself to one basic question: 'What is the real purpose of the Negro revolution?'" In his final chapter he gives his conclusions at length (pp. 212-214):

> On the basis of all the granitic evidence we have seen, I charge that America's 'race problem' and the 'civil rights movement' supposed to end it, have both been planned by the Communists, as we have seen, built up by the Communists, as we have seen, and, most important, conducted by the Communists, as we have seen.
>
> I charge -- on the basis of what we have seen -- that despite all of the idealistic and good people who have been deceived and pulled into the operation or into support of it, the 'civil rights movement' is for the most part a Communist operation under the cloak of which the Communists hope to capture this country.
>
> . . .
>
> I accuse the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of knowing all this, and yet of deliberately doing everything he can to bring all of it about to such an extent that whether he is or not in actuality a member of the Communist conspiracy can be of interest only to his psychiatrist.
>
> I accuse the Rev. Dr. King of being in effect one of the country's most influential workers for communism and against the Negroes.
>
> I accuse President Kennedy and President Johnson of knowing this but nevertheless not only closing their eyes to it, but lending a hand.
>
> I therefore accuse them both of having betrayed their oath of office.
>
> As we have seen, this -- all of this -- is obvious.
>
> . . . .
>
> In fact: It's very simple.

Underlying these conclusions is the contention that the civil rights movement in America is but another example of a Communist-inspired "war of national liberation," and -- as such -- a key step in the Communist road to power.

> In order for the Communists to capture a 'bourgeois' government . . . it is first necessary to disrupt that government . . . . It is necessary, in short, to encourage civil war in the industrial nation, and secession in the primitive nation. . . .
>
> Victory will come when the Communists -- under the cloak of the national liberation movement -- take control of the government. (pp. 3-4)

Examples of the "technique" are Algeria, Canada (the French-Canadian separatist movement), China, Cuba, Indonesia, and most of Africa. (Chapter Two, pp. 6-27. Robert Welch has also set forth the thesis at some length, emphasizing Algeria as the clearest parallel to the U. S., in his "Two Revolutions at Once" mailed out with the April, 1965, JBS Bulletin and often distributed as a companion to Stang's book since.)

Thus, the "first step in the Communist program for the capture and communization of the United States is the manufacture of a 'war of national liberation'" (i.e., the civil rights movement). As a second step, "the Communists would turn it /the "war of national liberation"/, slowly, subtly . . . so that after a while what people were mad at wouldn't be whites -- or blacks -- but capitalism . . . ." (pp. 131-2) Stang sees evidence of this second step in the emphasis of some civil rights leaders on economic issues and in the support by such leaders of President Johnson's "War on Poverty." (See Chapters Twelve, Thirteen and Fifteen, pp. 131-50 and 162-82)

Stang gives his own sarcastic characterization of the problem of poverty in America: "Behind every unwashed door stood an unkempt youth, unloved in an unswept room, belligerent because of his unemployed old man, who blamed it all on his unemployable old man, who nagged and swore at the unmade bed -- in which there was of course an unwed mother. Crazed with poverty as they were, many no doubt decided to

emigrate -- for a better life -- to India." (p. 162) Beyond this, Stang poses the answer in terms of a predictably laissez-faire economic viewpoint: "in a free society one man's fortune isn't the next man's handicap. In a free society it's the next man's opportunity to get a job and to make his own fortune." To destroy poverty, therefore, "You would begin removing the restrictions on creative men, on trade, on business and industry. . . ." (p. 164) In response to the question, "What Negroes Need," Stang replies: "the newest, most revolutionary, most productive economic idea ever thought -- which alone has given the average American the wealth of an ancient king. We call it capitalism." (p.140)

Stang classifies civil rights leaders as: "the violents and the 'nonviolents.' The violents want to destroy the United States and set up their own nation on part of it. All the nonviolents want is integration. . . . What is important to observe is that the two strategies advance like legs on the same man." (p. 97) But the real burden of his charge against this leadership is that they are closely tied to the Communist conspiracy. The leading targets here are Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) -- with "links" being contended to Highlander Folk School, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the late Aubrey Williams, etc. (Chapters Nine thru Eleven, pp. 94-130)

The Book -- Methodology

Stang readily concedes that his case rests on "circumstantial evidence." (pp. 209-10) A very large part of it rests on alleged parallels between the civil rights movement and Communist ideology and tactics. In order "to demonstrate that these parallels do exist," Stang tells us in a preliminary note, "I have used the stylistic device" of alternating "material from other times and other places" with that from "here and now in 'civil rights.'" Some examples of this device -- which is utilized throughout -- point up the technique.

-- A report of the 1964 riots in Rochester, to the effect that: "'Negroes were walking around with clothes, television sets, boxes of merchandise'" is followed by a quote from a book on the 1926-27 Communist uprisings in Indonesia: "'. . . the party is not hostile towards those who steal from the enemy because this would bring the government into difficulties. . . .'" (p. 80)

-- A quote from the N. Y. Times on the organization, after the 1964 Harlem riots, of a Unity Council of Harlem Organizations, "which is composed of 'such diverse organizations as the Black Muslim, the religious and civil rights groups, three African nationalist associations, and various church and civic groups'" is followed by a quote from Communist Benjamin Davis, in April, 1963, that "'The first step, it seems would be the convening of a national convention of the Negro people, representative of all points of view without exception . . . .'" (p. 82)

-- A 1967 quote from a civil rights leader urging: "'If two men, one Negro and one white, are equally qualified for a job, hire the Negro!'" is followed by a quote from a 1918 Communist publication: "'The fundamental policy of a Soviet Government with regard to the Negro generally would therefore be to create even relatively greater opportunities for advance and progress for the Negro than for the white. . . .'" (p. 95)

-- A 1928 statement that "'The Communist Party of America must emphasize in all its campaigns the solidarity of the white and black worker'" is followed by a 1964 quote from Bayard Rustin, that "'it is time to broaden the fight to include voter registration and economic issues and to seek alliances with liberal sources of power like labor unions.'" (p. 133)

In addition to the evidence provided by the "parallels," Stang, as noted, devotes considerable space to the "front" and similar affiliations alleged for various people involved in the civil rights movement. His sources for this material include not only the standard hearings and reports of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, but extend to those of state legislative committees in southern states (especially the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities and the testimony of J. B. Matthews before a Florida Committee), speeches and Congressional Record inserts by Senators Eastland and Thurmond, such right-wing "experts" as Myers Lowman of Circuit Riders, Inc. (Sec 1 - ORG), and Appendix IX (see Sec 3 - PUB).

Guilt by proximity seems to be added to guilt by association. Having reported at one point that Michael Harrington once appeared on a panel at City College of New York along with a Daily Worker editor and representatives of other left-wing parties and groups (including the Trotskyites), Stang later says of Harrington: "As we have seen, he appears in the company of Joseph Clark of the Worker." (pp. 138 and 165. Stang sees no important distinction between socialist groups and/or between socialist and Communist groups -- lumping together such mutually antagonistic elements as Trotskyites, Communists and Norman Thomas-Socialists.) Perhaps a more striking example of this extention of the principle is Stang's repeated emphasis on the location of Malcolm X at the time of the 1964 Harlem riots (p. 77):

> Cairo of course is where the decision was made and the money spent to launch the Communist coup in Algeria -- under the cloak of Islam.
>
> Cairo -- of all places -- was where Malcom X was at the moment.

But perhaps the peak in Stang's conspiracy detection comes with his chapter on "The Agent Provocateur" (pp. 197-208). Here, he begins with the 1963 bombing of the church in Birmingham which resulted in the deaths of four Negro girls; proceeds to the assertion that infiltration of opposition groups is a standard Communist practice ("The only way they can beat the opposition, in fact, is to control the opposition"); charges that such police brutality as occurs probably stems from this source ("The Communists infiltrate the police, create their own police brutality -- by being brutal -- and then cause a riot to condemn it"); and then quotes at length from the analysis by JBS Endorser Hardgrove Norris of the 1964 disturbances in St. Augustine: "So we'll do the activities of Martin Luther King and those of

/Connie/ Lynch and /J. B./ Stoner /both of the National States Rights Party/ complement each other -- and with such coordination -- one can not but help entertain the idea of a single control." (p. 204) Stang turns next to the case of the Bradens (Anne and Carl -- staff members of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which Stang regards as a "Communist front"). Noting that the Bradens had sold a house in a white neighborhood in Louisville to a Negro and that the house had been bombed in the course of the subsequent controversy, Stang suddenly returns to the 1963 church bombing in Birmingham:

> Now, let us be impeccably precise. I am not making any accusations. I am not charging that Mr. Braden personally had anything to do with blowing up the four little girls in Birmingham. And I am not saying that it is absolutely impossible that some genuine Southern white man . . . really did blow them up . . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> So it's not impossible that Mr. Braden didn't do it -- who knows -- after all, he's a very busy man.
>
> And it's also possible that Lee Harvey Oswald -- or one of his colleagues -- didn't murder NAACP leader Medgar Evers in June 1963, and then obligingly leave the rifle at the scene so that its owner, Byron de la Beckwith, a "right-wing extremist," could soon be picked up.
>
> Lee, of course, was a busy guy too. (p. 207)

A final word might be said about sources. In the current manner of major right-wing books, there is an abundance of footnotes -- some 550, or an average of 30 per chapter. Here again, however, a blurring effect is observable, all sources being treated as equally reliable. Thus, information on the Black Muslims is drawn without distinction from C. Eric Lincoln's book (The Black Muslims in America, Beacon Press, 1961), and a report on the organization of the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee. Reportage from the tabloid New York Daily News is equated with that from the Times. Testimony of people like the late Walter Steele (of whose 1957 testimony before HUAC, Prof. Robert K. Carr wrote: "It is possible that Steele's testimony was the most irresponsible ever presented to the Un-American Activities Committee" -- House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1944-50, Cornell Univ. Press, p. 53) is relied on without qualification. The analysis of the 1964 Civil Rights bill by John Satterfield and Loyd Wright is quoted at length, without notation that it was for the leading organizational lobby against the bill. And editorials in the ultraconservative Richmond News Leader are repeatedly cited on the same basis as news items.

The Author

Alan Stang is described on the back cover as "a graduate of City College of New York and Columbia University," who has worked as a business editor for Prentice-Hall, Inc., as writer-producer for the "Tex and Jinx" radio program, and for the "Mike Wallace Interview," and as a Research Consultant for the television program, "Biography."

A note in The John Birch Society magazine, American Opinion for March of 1964, adds that he "is one of the most talented members of the objectivist school" (evidently a reference to the Ayn Rand-Nathaniel Branden group). He has been a frequent contributor to American Opinion at least since April, 1963 -- with some eight articles to date.

Three of these articles reflect material also utilized in the book -- a September, 1964, report on the Harlem riots (subtitled "Communist Terror in the Streets"); an April, 1965, article on the Quebec separatist movement in Canada (in which he touches on the thesis that the civil rights movement is a "war of national liberation" related to that in Algeria and to the Canadian movement); and an October, 1965, article on Martin Luther King. Two others deal with civil rights. The most recent, in the December, 1965, issue, was a sarcastic commentary on an attempted civil rights demonstration in Lincolnton, Ga., "which had been prevented by a group of local Negroes -- that's right . . . ."

Easily the most interesting, however, is Stang's June, 1963, contribution, "The New Plantation" -- which, a headnote warns, "is controversial among our own staff." The controversy may have stemmed from Stang's charge that "Rightist thinking consists today in large part of . . . gangbuster psychology, consists not of the advancement of good ideas, of saying and doing, but merely of discovering what the creatures /i.e., Communists/ are saying and doing." It may have stemmed from his attack on the "twisting" of the doctrine of States Rights and on "Jim Crow" laws:

> Is it the legitimate function of any state government to concern itself about what sort of clientele a man may wish to join? And if these laws were to be logically applied, would it not be necessary to install separate restaurants for those who did not wish to eat with Jews, Italians, Indians, White Protestants, men, or women?

Or, it may have stemmed from his concluding peroration:

> These people /Negroes/ fought in all the wars we did, fought on all the plains and beaches, died in all the trenches. Some who came back were told that they did not deserve to be called mister. This is a disgrace, a revolting disgrace. It must be rectified -- now.
>
> . . . .
>
> Freedom now!

On the other hand, Stang makes it clear that he is equally opposed to the established civil rights movement with its talk of the "right" to jobs, to housing, to education, to medical treatment. His opposition here is based on his belief that the basic right "is the absolute and inviolable power to dispose of a specific property -- of one's own property." Thus, "if one man withholds his property from the next man -- a job, a room, a suit of clothes, a meal or a ticket to My Fair Lady -- it does not mean that he has unjustly taken those things from the next man. The next man

was never entitled to them in the first place." The businessman "who creates the job does not take it away from the man who applies for it. Before the appearance of /the businessman/ . . . the job simply did not exist."

Stang agrees that it is wrong for the State of Mississippi to deny entrance to its university to James Meredith, a taxpayer. But, more important, "The presence of the State of Mississippi in an educational system should never have been lawful in the first place." To Stang, the trend -- aided and supported by the civil rights movement -- is from "the Old Plantation" ("Harriet Beecher Stowe notwithstanding, the White master was, in most cases, humane") to "the New Plantation" on which, "we are all of us -- Black and White -- fast becoming Mr. Kennedy's darkies."

Stang had a book titled The New Plantation scheduled for publication in 1964. (A note in the March, 1964, issue of American Opinion said it was "soon to be published by Coleridge Press", while the September, 1964, issue said it would "soon be released by the Verdict Press.") It was listed in Books in Print for 1964 (by Coleridge), but this publisher has advised that "publication was cancelled," and there is no listing for the book in either the Library of Congress or the Union catalogues.

Stang's other articles for American Opinion were on Indonesia's President Sukarno ("proved and notorious traitor and thug, liar and collaborationist, thief, mass murderer -- and Communist -- /in the U. S./ at the invitation of our national Politician, Dwight D. Eisenhower, who is -- of course -- not a Communist." (November, 1964); on the Supreme Court (March, 1964); and on U. N. Secretary-General U Thant ("He is a witch doctor of the assembly line and a spiritual Attila the Hun. He does not have the honesty to face the consequences of his own beliefs. In a rational society he could not qualify as a minor assistant to the men's room attendant of a Bowery flophouse. He does not deserve to be in this country." -- April, 1963).

Born in New York City in 1898, Jordan says that he attended New York University briefly prior to military service in World War I. (N. Y. Times 12/7/49) Between the wars he evidently worked in public relations and advertising, being identified as a "brewery publicist" by a later commentator. (Oliver Pilat in Saturday Review, 10/4/52) During World War II Jordan returned to military duty in the Air Corps and worked as a liaison officer in the program of lend-lease to Russia, serving at Newark and Great Falls, Mont. Following the war he "set himself up briefly in Washington as an exclusive agency to provide machine tools to the Soviet Union. When this flopped, he became retroactively more suspicious of the Russians, and in speeches became more critical of our wartime ally." (Pilat, op. cit.)

In December, 1949 Jordan appeared on radio with Fulton Lewis, Jr. making some sensational charges regarding the wartime lend-lease program and the late Harry Hopkins, a top aide to President Roosevelt. These charges were the subject of hearings held by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and of a staff investigation by the Joint Atomic Energy Committee. The staff of the Joint Committee and most of the press considered Jordan's charges as discredited (see, for example, N. Y. Times 4/9/51, Time 12/12/49 and Newsweek 12/19/49), but Jordan maintained them (N. Y. Times 4/15/51 and 5/3/51) and they became the primary subject of his book, From Major Jordan's Diary, which appeared in 1952. (See Sec 3 - PUB for fact sheet on this book and detailed consideration of Jordan's charges and the rebuttal.)

In 1954 Jordan again made the news as an officer of Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice, a group organized to defend Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis) against the Senate censure resolution. President of the group was Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, and its "chief of staff" was Adm. John G. Crommelin. Adm. Crommelin has more recently gained notoriety as a frequent candidate for public office in Alabama, running openly anti-Semitic and racist campaigns. Even as early as 1954 he was reported to have done much of the organizing work for Ten Million Americans from the New York office of Joseph P. Kamp. (Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, Cross-Currents, Doubleday, 1956, p. 159. Kamp had been characterized by Forster in an earlier book as having a "record of anti-democratic propaganda /that/ is long and loathsome." A Measure of Freedom, Doubleday, 1950, p. 44.) Major Jordan was identified as Crommelin's "coordinator" in news stories reporting on the pro-McCarthy petition campaign of Ten Million Americans and on its rally in Madison Square Garden. (N. Y. Times 11/27, 11/29 and 11/30/54) Forster and Epstein report that Crommelin and Jordan made a vain attempt to "turn TMA's mass following into a permanent national body." (Cross-Currents, p. 157)

The following year when President Eisenhower named John M. Harlan to the Supreme Court, Jordan appeared at the confirmation hearings as an opposition witness representing the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies (Sec 1 - ORG). The burden of his testimony was a warning that Harlan might supply the vote (on the Court) that would take the United States into a world government. (N. Y. Times 2/26/55) In 1957 Jordan was referred to as the American Coalition's "New York liaison man." (Wilbur Baldinger in The Progressive, February, 1957)

By this time Jordan was also becoming prominent a[illegible] spokesman for a return to the gold standard. He organized a Committee for a Free Gold Market (ibid[illegible] and in 1959 his Gold Swindle was published by The Bookmailer. The book, prepared by Edna Lonigan, a Human Events editor who "sorted and compiled th[illegible] material from my many speeches," attacks the virt[illegible] abandonment of the gold standard by the Roosevelt administration and charges that it "led into the grea[illegible] inflationary and debt binge in history." (Gold Swind[illegible] p. 18) In anticipation of a hoped-for return to the go[illegible] standard, Jordan has organized a firm, the Toronto Gold Market Co., Ltd., to trade in gold in Canada a[illegible] to utilize warehouse receipts for trading on commod[illegible] markets in the U. S., where trading in monetary go[illegible] itself is not allowed. (ibid., pp. 78 and 87) Jordan continues to identify himself as president of this firm (Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman 8/3/63)

In 1962 Jordan wrote an introductory note for the pam[illegible]let California Dynasty of Communism by Karl Pruss[illegible] in which he characterizes Prussion as "an outstandi[illegible] authority on Communist techniques" and a "courageo[illegible] American." The Prussion pamphlet, which attacked Governor Brown as a "red appeaser" and made simil[illegible] charges against other leading California Democrats, repudiated and its charges called "disgraceful" by Richard Nixon when it was injected into his unsucces[illegible] gubernatorial campaign against Brown. (See Washing[illegible] Post 10/8 and 10/17/62)

In addition to his two books, Jordan has at least one long-play record, "Red Pipeline to Moscow," produc[illegible] and distributed by Key Records. This firm, which h[illegible] also produced Karl Prussion's recording, "Inside a Communist Cell," is headed by Vick Knight, who is [illegible] self a member of the board of the Americanism Educ[illegible]tional League (Sec 1 - ORG).

Jordan also is active as a speaker and in the current year has made at least the following major appearanc[illegible]

John Birch Society chapter meeting, San Marino, Cal[illegible] (Look, 7/16/63)

We, The People', "Citizens Hearing" in Chicago, Apr[illegible] 20th (Free Enterprise, May, 1963)

Christian Crusade's annual convention, Oklahoma Cit[illegible] August, 1963 (Daily Oklahoman 8/3/63)

Major Jordan's latest organizational effort is a group called the Committee Advocating Congressional Exam[illegible]tion of The Advertising Council. It was announced in September with Jordan as Chairman and Vick Knight, "a former vice president of Foote, Cone and Belding, as Secretary. The Committee attacks the "campaign of The Advertising Council to sell the United Nations to the American people." (Freedom Press 9/11/63) /This public service advertising campaign, announced in June, was the subject of an earlier attack in the July issue of the Bulletin of the John Birch Society, which urged letters in opposition to the Advertising Council and demands for equal space or time wheneve[illegible] public service ads favoring the U. N. should appear.]

Quotations -- Some selected quotations from Major Jordan follow (see also Sec 3 - PUB, From Major Jordan's Diary):

-- "Fiscal alcoholics and compulsive spenders in Washington . . . . want to turn this into a one-world set-up under the United Nations." (Quoted in Daily Oklahoman 8/3/63)

-- /Referring to devaluation of the dollar in Roosevelt's first Administration/ "Men of experience and judgement knew what dangerous policies the Government was following, but they could not arouse the majority of the people from their hypnotized subservience to the Socialist New Deal spellbinders." (Gold Swindle, p. 34)

-- /Referring to "our socialist planners of the war and post-war period"/ "They devised so many ingenious financial and budgetary tricks that no one can ever know what they have done to disorganize and undermine the financial system of the United States." (Ibid., p. 46)

-- "We have not forgotten that the head of the Military Advisory Staff of the /U. N./ Security Council was a Soviet national, an officer in their armed forces. Every report on the Korean fighting passed through his hands -- and immediately thereafter to the Soviet Union or the Red Chinese. Therefore, in time of war, we now send our orders to our Field Commanders by way of the enemy." (Ibid., p. 64. For a devastating commentary on this particular myth, see column by William Randolph Hearst, Jr. in the 4/7/63 issue of the various Hearst newspapers; also inserted in the Congressional Record 10/24/63, pp. 19244-5.)

KOCH, FRED C., Wichita, Kansas 5/14/62

President, Rock Island Oil and Refining Co.
President, Koch Oil Corporation, Inc.
Chairman of the Board, Koch Engineering Co., Inc., which built 15 refineries in Russia during the 1929-depression years

National Council, John Birch Society. "The most effective anti-Communist society I know of is The John Birch Society of Belmont, Massachusetts." (Koch, quoted in Manion Forum, Weekly Broadcast No. 336, 3/5/61)

Endorser, Manion Forum (1962 list)
National Advisory Committee, Christian Crusade (1961 brochure)
Member, Committee for Equal Anti-Trust Law Protection (To Restrain Labor Monopolies in the Transportation Industry) (Manion Forum) (1962 list)
National Board, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (New York Times, 8/30/59 a Birch Society "front" (Welch, Blue Book)

Author of booklet, "A Business Man Looks at Communism," a radical attack on the Supreme Court, labor unions, universities, the U.N., ministers of the Protestant church, tax-free foundations, and others.

KREGELOH, HUBERT W., Springfield, Massachusetts 5/14/62

Teacher at local junior college

Radio commentator, Station WSPR -- sponsored by "Committee for American Treatment of the News" (Welch, Blue Book, p. 82)

Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society (1962 brochure)
Former associate editor, American Opinion, contributing editor, American Opinion (1/62 masthead)

Commended in Blue Book for helping to sell American Opinion subscriptions on his radio broadcasts. (Welch, Blue Book, p. 105)

LOEB, WILLIAM
Reno, Nevada, and Pride's Crossing, Massachusetts

Newspaper publisher. Although, since 1952, Who's Who has listed his home as Nevada, Loeb's publishing interests are in New England: St. Albans, Vermont (Daily Messenger, since 1941); Burlington, Vermont (Daily News, since 1942); Manchester, New Hampshire (Union-Leader, since 1946, and New Hampshire Sunday News, since 1948); and Haverhill, Massachusetts (Journal, since 1957). He evidently maintains a home at Pride's Crossing, Mass., as well as in Nevada.

Biographical Data

Loeb was born December 26, 1905 in Washington, D.C., where his father was serving as private secretary to President Theodore Roosevelt. He graduated from Williams College (AB, 1927), and studied at Harvard Law School (1929-31).

He was first married in 1926 but it ended in divorce in late 1932. (N.Y. Times 10/5, 8 and 12/32) A second marriage, in late 1947, also ended in divorce and in mid-1952 he married Nackey Scripps, granddaughter of the founder of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain.

During the 1930's Loeb was evidently in business in New York. He served briefly, 1937-8, as a director of Reo Motor Car Co., failing of re-election when his attempt to lead a proxy fight to reorganize the firm was unsuccessful. (N.Y. Times 3/31, 4/2 and 4/27/38)

Also in the late 1930's, Loeb was active in the Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression and its successor organization, American Boycott Against Aggressor Nations. (See N.Y. Times 1/20/39) Loeb now refers to these activities as an instance of having "penetrated the Communist Party without becoming either a Communist or acting as an FBI agent," and says "the entire executive committee, I think, almost without exception was named before one investigating body of Congress or another as members of the Communist Party." (7/31/63 Hearings before Senate Commerce Committee, pp. 1041 and 1047.)

This is in striking contrast to his defense of the Committee against charges by the Dies Committee and its research director, J. B. Matthews. Charging "sloppy and irresponsible methods" on the part of Matthews, Loeb denied "most emphatically that the Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression was ever dominated or influenced by Communists," said that "the individuals mentioned in the report were never members of the Committee," and that "the silliness of American Communists is only surpassed by the absurdity of Matthews' attacks." (Quoted in N.Y. Times 12/12/39. It might also be noted that during the same month, the American Boycott organization announced that it was adding Soviet Russia to its list of "aggressor nations" because of the invasion of Finland -- which hardly indicates Communist domination. See ibid., 12/13/39)

Publishing Career

As has been indicated, Loeb entered the publishing field in Vermont in the early 1940's. In late 1946 he purchased the Manchester, N.H., Union-Leader Corp., which then published both the morning Union and the evening Leader. (See N.Y. Times 10/26/41 for purchase of St. Albans, Vt. paper; 11/2/46 for purchase of Union-Leader Corp.) Subsequently, the two Manchester papers were merged into one "all day daily."

Loeb moved into the Massachusetts publishing field in 1957, taking advantage of a printers' strike at the Haverhill Gazette to begin a rival daily, the Journal. The same year, during a city-wide mailers union strike of Boston papers, Loeb outraged his fellow-publishers by trucking the Union-Leader into Boston for sale. (Newsweek 12/29/58. Loeb charged Boston publishers with trying to restrain his sales, but they denied the charge. N.Y. Times 8/17/57) Possibly in retaliation, in 1958 a group of New England publishers purchased the Haverhill Gazette from its earlier owners and continued the circulation battle with Loeb's Journal. (Newsweek 12/29/58) Soon, the two firms were involved in anti-trust suit and counter-suit -- which ended with the recent Gazette ownership acceptance of a $1.1 million cash settlement from Loeb's firm, and the simultaneous closing down of the Journal. (See N.Y. Times 6/3/65 and Guild Reporter 6/11/65)

While Loeb's editorials are noted for their caustic language (victims reportedly have an unofficial "Loebsters Club" for those who have been his target, and a "Loebel Prize" for those attacked twice -- see N.Y. Times 3/9/60), Time magazine has credited the Union-Leader with "some notable crusades" -- including publication of a list of state legislators on a racetrack payroll during a debate over a proposal to increase the state's share of pari-mutuel receipts; criticism of "overgrown, over-decorated, over-expensive U. S. cars." (Time 5/20/57)

A personal crusade of Loeb's appears to be profit-sharing. Newsweek has reported that "half the profits of The Union-Leader before taxes go to the employes, and Loeb donates 50 per cent of his own half to an employe pension fund." (5/20/57) Loeb was a leading figure in the Council of Profit-Sharing Industries during its early years, serving as Vice-Chairman 1947-8 and as Chairman 1949-52. (Who's Who in America and various issues of N.Y. Times) In his various speeches as an officer of the Council, Loeb praised profit-sharing as a key to increased productivity and thus as a way to check inflation. (See N.Y. Times 10/3/51 and 11/13/51) Even more emphatically, he has stressed it as an alternative to socialism: "Workers in profit-sharing industries definitely reject totalitarianism and the theory of government hand-outs" (ibid., 11/10/48); and, "In the American tradition, profit-sharing places emphasis on the individual, while in socialism orders come down from the top and the individual is a cog in the machine of the state" (ibid., 11/7/52).

Loeb and New Hampshire Politics

As publisher of New Hampshire's leading daily with a statewide circulation, although he is not a resident voter, Loeb has long been an important figure in state politics. He was closely allied with the late Sen. Styles Bridges, an alliance which extended, for more than a decade, to Bridges' former assistant, Wesley Powell. Thus, in 1950, when Powell challenged incumbent Sen. Charles Tobey in the Republican primary, Loeb backed the challenge. (Powell lost by only 1,300 votes

out of more than 77,000. The heat of this campaign led to Loeb charges that Tobey "did everything but come right out and call this publisher a Jew" /he is not; describes himself as "an Episcopalian who now saw the light and got to be a Baptist"/; and after the election Loeb printed a letter he had received during the campaign calling him a "New York kike." Tobey countered that he had attacked Loeb only as "a flagrantly offensive and partisan carpetbagger" and denied flatly that he or anyone in his campaign had been connected with the letter. Investigation indicated that the letter had been faked but gave no clues as to the responsible party. See Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, The Troublemakers, Doubleday, 1952, pp. 241-2.) Powell subsequently became Governor of New Hampshire in 1959.

Following Sen. Bridges' death in late 1961, however, Powell and Loeb parted political company, acrimoniously. Loeb wanted the Governor to appoint Bridges' widow to the vacant Senate seat, but Powell refused and named the State's Attorney instead -- leading Loeb to charge "disloyalty and ingratitude toward Sen. Bridges." (N.Y. Times 12/10/61) In retaliation Loeb opposed Powell's renomination for the governorship. The latter's defeat in the primary was followed by his announcement that in view of the successful candidate's "surrender" to Loeb, he (Powell) was backing the Democratic nominee. (Ibid., 10/18/62) Loeb responded with the prediction that the Kennedys would doubtless reward Powell for being "a turncoat and knifing" the GOP. (Ibid., 10/21/62. Democrat John King went on to win the election.)

Loeb and National Politics

The unique importance of the New Hampshire primary in Republican presidential politics has in turn given Loeb's views significance on the national scene.

In 1952 he was such a staunch Taft supporter that he refused to back Eisenhower -- calling the election "tweedledee and tweedledum" and "no choice" -- and joined Col. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune in calling for a new "American Party." (N.Y. Times 8/26/52) Loeb's aversion to Eisenhower, whom he once referred to in an editorial as "Dopey Dwight," reached a climax following the death of Sen. Joe McCarthy. In a front-page editorial listing those he considered responsible, Loeb included "that stinking hypocrite in the White House." (Union-Leader 5/3/57) More recently, during the 1964 debate over the Republican nomination, Loeb's Union-Leader described Eisenhower's leadership as "disastrous for the Republican Party" and warned against an "all-things-to-all-men Eisenhower type candidate" as "the one sure way to the complete ruination of the Republican Party." (From editorial reprinted in Independent American, May-June, 1964)

Despite this, in 1960 Loeb supported Nixon in both the New Hampshire primary and the general election -- perhaps because he was so adamantly opposed to the alternatives, Rockefeller and Kennedy. Thus, while Loeb had no official position in the Nixon primary campaign, the Union-Leader endorsed him, and Gov. Powell and Sen. Bridges were Nixon's co-chairmen in the state. (N.Y. Times 12/17 and 18/59) It was during the primary campaign that Powell referred to Kennedy as "soft on communism" only to have Nixon repudiate the allegation. Powell stuck by his guns and Loeb ran an editorial stating that: "We would consider Senator Kennedy's nomination to be extremely dangerous to the safety of the United States." (Ibid., 3/8 and 9/60) In a speech following the general election, Kennedy's press secretary, Pierre Salinger, named the Union-Leader as one of the two specific examples of papers not giving fair coverage to the Democrats. (Ibid., 12/3/60. The other paper named was Eugene Pulliam's Indianapolis Star.) On his part, Loeb has since said that Nixon "lost the presidency in 1960 largely because he couldn't find the courage to say the things that needed saying . . . ." (Editorial from the Union-Leader reprinted in Independent American, Mar.-April, 1964)

Not surprisingly, Loeb was a staunch Goldwater backer in 1964. During the New Hampshire primary his main target was again Nelson Rockefeller, whom he called a "stupid liar" and a "wife swapper." (Newsweek 2/17/64. Asked about the latter charge in view of his own divorce and remarriage, Loeb's reply was said to be, "I'm not running for the White House and he is.") After Goldwater's defeat, Loeb's comment was that "The American people have made their choice, and we sincerely hope that they will not live to curse the day they decided to turn their backs on integrity, decency and common sense." (Union-Leader editorial reprinted in Independent American, Nov.-Dec., 1964) In a still more recent comment -- somewhat reminiscent of his post-mortem on Nixon -- Loeb said, "one of Barry Goldwater's difficulties in life has been that he is not a gut fighter. He has principles and he has decency, but he is always trying to placate enemies who cannot be placated and don't deserve to be." (Ibid., Jan.-Feb., 1965)

Loeb and Organized Labor

As has been noted (see page 1), Loeb has not always maintained a solid front with fellow publishers during labor disputes. On the other hand, in late 1949 he had his own dispute with the printers union and discharged the entire complement of printers at his Burlington, Vermont paper, citing "wages already averaging $4,200 a year and new demands for about a 50-cent-an-hour increase already being made." (N.Y. Times 10/12/49. Loeb replaced the printers with girls "trained in operating special keyboards attached to ordinary linotypes" and announced that he intended to run the News without printers "pretty permanently.")

In 1963 it was revealed that a mortgage on the Union-Leader Corp. /rumored to be nearly a half-million-dollars, but with no figures published/ had been assigned to one of the pension funds of the Teamsters Union. (Concord, N.H. Daily Monitor 5/8/63 -- which reported it as "the first time the Teamsters Union fund had taken a mortgage on a daily newspaper.") Loeb has made no bones about the mortgage and, during the 1964 primary, even criticized his candidate, Goldwater, for a personal attack on Teamster head James Hoffa. Loeb said that the Teamster loan had "saved" the Union-Leader from "a group of 'liberal' Kennedy publishers /presumably the group owning the Haverhill Gazette/." (Quoted in N.Y. Times 2/21/64. See also Washington Post 2/22/64, which quotes Loeb as saying Hoffa "has never once put any pressure on me.")

At any rate, organized labor does not appear to have been a target of Loeb's editorial views and he has most recently endorsed repeal of Sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the section permitting so-called state "right-to-work" laws. "While perhaps magnificent in theory," Loeb editorializes, "actually these laws are of little consequence" except to cost conservatives "millions of labor votes." Consequently, while warning that "doing away with them will not be the boon to organizing drives that labor thinks it will be," Loeb sees them as not worth a "bitter hassle" about repeal. (Union-Leader editorial inserted in Congressional Record 5/24/65, p. 10881)

Loeb and the Organized Right: Current

Loeb's numerous affiliations include the following: (see Sec 1 - ORG on most of those mentioned).

+ Americans for Constitutional Action -- Trustee (1/29/65 ACA release)

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee -- Member (5/17/65 letterhead; Loeb has been listed since CFAC's earliest days.)

Committee on Electoral College Reform, American Good Government Society -- Member (September, 1964 letterhead)

American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange -- Member (February, 1965 listing; Loeb has been listed at least as early as 1960)

American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters -- Sponsor (January, 1963 letterhead; Loeb appeared on the initial list published in December, 1961.) Loeb has boasted that during the Congo crisis, his paper carried "a very penetrating series of articles" by "a Negro correspondent," namely Phillipa Schuyler. (See 7/31/63 Hearings before Senate Commerce Committee, p. 1037) It should be noted that Miss Schuyler's father was an officer of the Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters; that she herself is Secretary of the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, and that for at least 6 months in 1961, she was employed by Selvage and Lee, registered representatives of a Portuguese group interested in defending their country's policies in Angola.

+ Committee for the Monroe Doctrine -- Member (January, 1964 letterhead; listed as early as January, 1963, but has not been included in "partial listings" of February, 1964 and since.)

+ Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations -- Member (March, 1964 letterhead; while not on the listing of the Committee's first advertisement -- N.Y. Times 4/12/55 -- Loeb has been listed at least since September, 1958)

+ Young Americans for Freedom -- Member, National Advisory Board (March, 1965 brochure; Loeb has been listed at least since June, 1961)

Earlier Organizational Affiliations

American China Policy Association -- Organized in early 1946, the Association, says Professor Rose T. Koen, "soon surpassed all other organizations in the volume and directness of its attacks on United States policy in China." (The China Lobby in American Politics, Macmillan, 1960, p. 57) Loeb was its third President, succeeding former Shanghai editor J. B. Powell and former Congresswoman Clare Booth Luce. He served from about 1948 until 1953. The real leadership of the Association, however, appears to have been the late Alfred Kohlberg, who early became its Board Chairman, and was frequently referred to as head of "the China lobby." (Ibid. and various issues of N.Y. Times, 1946-54)

For America -- Though not one of the earlier groups, Loeb seems to have joined the National Policy Committee about the time of the second reorganization of the group. (See Sec 1 - ORG and September, 1957 listing)

Citizens Foreign Relations Committee -- This group grew out of a full-page ad dealing with foreign policy which appeared in the N.Y. Times 2/28/55. Loeb was a signer of the ad and was listed as a director of the Committee. (February, 1957 letterhead) While the Committee appears to be dormant, as late as 1962 it was listed as having space at 1 West 37th St., New York City (sharing the space with the American China Policy Association -- also dormant -- and other enterprises of the late Alfred Kohlberg). (See Sec 1 - ORG)

+ Congress of Freedom -- Loeb was on the National Advisory Committee of this organization in the mid-1950's. (April, 1955 program; see also Colorado Springs Gazette 1/4/55; Loeb was not listed on a 1958 letterhead.)

Catholic Freedom Foundation -- Loeb was one of the endorsers of a 1961 statement circulated by the Foundation, to the effect that: "if domestic communists (so powerfully assisted by American fellow-travelers, psuedo-liberals, opportunists and dupes) continue as little exposed and opposed as heretofore, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA will inevitably fall into the hands of the USSR -- without a bomb dropped!" (The Foundation is evidently still circulating the statement. See advertisement in The Wanderer 12/24/64)

+ Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms -- Loeb was the Chairman of this organization, set up to lead the lobbying drive against the 1963 Civil Rights Act. (See Sec 1 - ORG) Loeb did not draw any salary from the Committee but was reimbursed $530 in expenses during 1963-64. (Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives)

Selected Quotes

(Unless otherwise indicated, quotations are from Union-Leader editorials as reprinted in The Independent American, with date referring to issue of latter.)

-- On the John Birch Society: Loeb takes what might be called the "National Review position" on Robert Welch and the John Birch Society -- sympathetic to the latter, but critical of the former. In fact, the Union-Leader reprinted editor William Buckley's "excellent analysis of the John Birch Society controversy" from the National Review. Some of Loeb's own editorial comments follow: ". . . /We/ resent the fact that Welch attributes every setback in U. S. foreign policy to subversive influences -- whether he can prove his charges or not -- and allows no room at all for human error." (Union-Leader 2/16/62) "If anything ever illustrated why the John Birch Society would be much better off without its founder, Robert Welch, it was Welch's recent statement . . . to the effect that Cuba's Batista and Dominica's Trujillo were all right. Apparently, in Welch's way of thinking, because both Batista and Trujillo were against Communists, that makes them good men. This is nonsense." (Union-Leader 2/27/62) "These silly remarks . . . are typical of the sort of thing which have discredited Welch in the eyes of many sensible Americans. His remarks have also laid his organization and his friends open to effective attack by the Communists and left wingers. IT IS INDEED TIME FOR WELCH TO RETIRE." (Ibid., emphasis in original)

-- On "extremism" in general: "If there is any such thing as a 'Right Wing' in this country, there is also a Left, wherein 'extremists' are much more numerous and dangerous." (Union-Leader 2/18/62) "Is the ADA /Americans for Democratic Action/ any less 'extremist' than the John Birch Society? Obviously, the policies the ADA espouses are more damaging to the national security than any that Mr. Welch might concoct even in his wildest moments." (Union-Leader 2/22/62)

-- On civil rights: "The so-called 'civil rights' plank adopted /by the 1960 Democratic Convention/ . . . is misnamed. If the program were carried out as the Democrats urge, it would really enslave the majority of the American people and deprive them of their rights in favor of some noisy minorities who have scared the politicians half to death." (August, 1960) "There are, of course, educated Negroes in the South. But there are many primitive, almost half savage Negroes in both Africa and the South. They can be easily aroused and stirred into wild, uncontrollable emotions. When this occurs, it naturally arouses equally strong emotions on the part of the Southern white men and women who rise to defend their homes and their women and children." (June, 1961) "I submit to you that passage of S. 1732 /1963 Civil Rights bill/ will be like pouring gasoline on this blaze of racial hatred. The searing flames from this conflagration will not only consume the vast majority of patriotic and law-abiding colored and white citizens . . . , but finally it could very well consume the United States, itself." (7/1/63 Hearings before Senate Commerce Committee, p. 1044) "The black minority in this country, one-tenth of our population, must not be allowed to wreck the nation or pull down the educational and living standards of the nine-tenths of the population who are white." (July-August, 1964)

-- On the test-ban treaty: "Nothing could be more dangerous to the future of the United States than to sign a test ban treaty with Communists. It is absolutely senseless to seek an agreement or make an arrangement with those who never yet have kept an agreement." (Union-Leader 7/24/63) "To all intents and purposes, the nuclear test ban signed in Moscow is indeed a victory for the Kremlin, the President's statement to the contrary notwithstanding." (Ibid., 7/29/63)

-- On the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion: "Of all the long sorry mess of defeats suffered by the United States under both Republican and Democratic administrations since the last world war, this is the worst. . . . This ghastly defeat . . . is exactly the type of tragedy this newspaper predicted if the government was turned over to a group of impractical theorists and intellectuals who are not real intellectuals in the honest sense of the term, but phony poseurs." (May, 1961) After the 1962 missile crisis: "There is a risk, of course, involved in getting rid of Castro and there would be some American lives lost, but the alternative is to allow the Communist cancer to spread through all of Central and South America until this nation is isolated and in a fantastically dangerous situation." (Nov.-Dec., 1962)

-- On JFK's foreign policy: "We have no doubt that the /Walt W./ Rostow plan of appeasement meets with the President's approval. Indeed, we have never believed that Kennedy, based on his voting record as a senator, understood the nature of communism or how to combat it." (June-July, 1962)

-- On the Supreme Court's prayer decision: "As a practical course of action, since man's relationship with God comes above any law of the case, this newspaper advocates that every school teacher, every school principal and every school board in the entire United States disregard this ruling . . . . We advocate that whatever action is necessary to repeal, nullify, abolish and wipe out forever the shame and stain of this Supreme Court decision be taken by the Congress . . . ." (July-August, 1963)

-- On U. S. policy in Africa: "Either the West and the United States control Africa or the Russians do . . . . The United States, through its blundering, its stupidity and its treason within its ranks, has all but lost all of Asia. Let us not repeat the performance in Africa." (Jan.-Feb., 1965)

-- On Joe McCarthy: "The tragedy of the era was that Joe McCarthy, who I knew well and who was a good friend, merely attempted to deal with the most complicated and best organized conspiracy the world has ever seen with the free-swinging methods of a fighting Irishman going into a bar to clear up a row . . . . Now, believe me, sir, the evils which McCarthy attacked existed then and still exist. The tragedy today is, having done the job as poorly as he did, he was able to create an atmosphere by which it pretty nearly was worth your political scalp to even mention the fact that there was a Communist conspiracy in this country." (7/31/63 Hearings before Senate Commerce Committee, p. 1052. In his editorial obituary to McCarthy, Loeb had likened him to abolitionist John Brown, and said, "his soul and the fight that he began against communism will go marching on . . . ." (Union-Leader 5/3/57)

-- On loyalty oaths: "Only a person whose own values are completely distorted would object to taking an oath of loyalty to his country." (May, 1961)

(Group Research, Inc.)

LEWIS, D. B. (Dallas Bedford)
Los Angeles, California

President and principal owner of Lewis Food Company, which manufactures and sells Dr. Ross' and Skippy brand pet foods.

Born 1904 in Camden, Tenn.; lived in Texas for a time prior to moving to California in the 1920's; purchased Ross Company's name and goodwill, together with some of its machinery in 1942 for $2,500; sales hit $1.5 million in 1947 and passed the $10 million mark in 1954 (recent editions of Poor's put them in the $9-12 million range); other corporate connections include: President, Nuclear Fuels and Rare Metals Corp. (of Salmon, Idaho), principal owner of Sulphurdale Chemical Co. (of Utah), and a director, Telemail, Inc.; he is also president of the Opera Foundation of Southern California and a director of the National Pet Food Institute. (Who's Who in the West, 1963-64 and Fortune, June, 1955)

Lewis's firm is the leading sponsor of "The Dan Smoot Report" on radio and television. Lewis met Smoot in 1956 when the latter made a speech at Los Angeles' Freedom Club. Prior to that Smoot was appearing on only two radio stations and no television outlets. By mid-1957 Lewis's firm was sponsoring him on 52 radio and 18 television stations and by early 1962 the number of TV outlets had grown to 32. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 3/2/62; Dan Smoot Report, 1/1/62 and 7/22/57; and Look, 3/13/62.

The Lewis firm also sponsors the Manion Forum on a variety of stations in the West. (Richard Dudman, Men of the Far Right, Pyramid Books, 1962, p. 111. See also Manion Forum listings of sponsors, 1957-62)

Earlier this year, the anti-U.N. film, "Katanga: The Untold Story," was widely shown over TV in the western states under Lewis' sponsorship. Featuring former Congressman Donald Jackson (a California Republican who served on the House Un-American Activities Committee) as narrator, this film was produced with Lewis underwriting the costs. (Christian Crusade, February, 1963)

Reporting on a tour of the Pacific Coast in his January, 1963, Newsletter, Maj. Edgar Bundy of the Church League of America (Sec 1 - ORG) gives special thanks to D. B. Lewis "for the tremendous amount of television time he purchased for our presentations." The same source indicates the following as the location of the television stations utilized by Lewis:

Arizona -	Phoenix Tucson Yuma
Calif. -	Bakersfield Chico Eureka Fresno Mexicali-El Centro Redding Salinas San Diego San Francisco San Jose Santa Barbara
Hawaii -	Honolulu Maui
Nevada -	Las Vegas Reno
Oregon -	Eugene Klamath Falls Medford Portland Twin Falls
Texas -	El Paso
Utah -	Salt Lake City
Wash. -	Seattle Spokane Tacoma Yakima

In addition to radio-television advertising, Dr. Ross' Pet Foods does a moderate amount of advertising in some of the right-wing press -- American Opinion, the John Birch Society magazine; Freedom Press, of Santa Barbara, Calif.; Shasta County Chronicle, anoth California paper (which is currently running regular headlines: "Barry Goldwater, No!" -- the Chronicle is for Thurmond); and American Statesman, J. Bracke Lee's paper.

Conversely, the June, 1962, Bulletin of the John Birch Society carried (in the case of members in the eleven western states) a 4-color flyer for Dr. Ross' Pet Food and JBS members were urged to go to store managers and seek "more shelf space for a more complete repre sentation and more effective display of the Dr. Ross line in as many stores as possible." (This was said to be necessary to counter instances where the stores had reduced their stock of Dr. Ross brand "to just one or two items because of the objection of such management to Mr. Lewis' patriotic activities." Welch also notes that, in addition to advertising in American Opinion, D. B. Lewis "has been a strong friend of the Society in many much more substantial ways." (All quotes fro June, 1962, Bulletin.)

In the summer of 1962, on the day before California's Congressional primary election, Dr. Ross' Pet Food spent about $9,500 on advertisements in newspapers throughout the state publishing "as a public service" th rating of candidates on "constitutional principles." Th ads utilized voting indexes prepared by Americans for Constitutional Action, Dan Smoot, and American Purpose (a conservative California newsletter edited by an Edward Albertson). On the basis of these ads, the Federal government charged Lewis with violating the law against corporate expenditures to influence electio The subsequent trial ended in a deadlocked jury. (N.Y. Times, 10/25/63; Sacramento Union, 6/4/62; undated American Purpose hand-out.)

Lewis calls the income tax "one of the most vicious law ever passed" and says "your freedom and mine was critically damaged in 1913 when the Moscow-inspired progressive income tax was adopted. . . . We will neve again be free until this cancer is removed from our Co stitution." (First quote from article by Fletcher Knebe in Look, 3/13/62; second from letter by Lewis in Amer can Progress, Spring, 1957)

In 1955 Lewis became President of ORFIT, the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxes, which had been incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1953. (Who Who in the West, op. cit. and 1955 ORFIT letterhead) According to Dan Smoot, it was Lewis who thought of combining the proposed Hoffman Amendment, to repeal the income tax, with the proposed Gwinn Amendment, to forbid Government "competition with private enterprise." (Dan Smoot Report, 5/13/57) In any event, by late 1956, ORFIT was joining forces with Willis Stone's American Progress Foundation (founded in 1949), which had been urging the Gwinn Amendment. The two organi zations urged a revised amendment containing both proposals, which has come to be known as the "Liberty Amendment." (See various issues of American Progres Fall-Winter, 1956, through Summer, 1957. Latter issue formally announced that the two groups "have combined their facilities.")

By late 1958 Lewis and Willis Stone had evidently gone separate ways. While the American Progress Foundation and ORFIT continue to exist jointly (cf listing in June, 1963, Los Angeles Telephone Directory), Stone retained the magazine, American Progress, and organized a new formal group, the National Committee for Economic Freedom, in which at least seven of the old American Progress Foundation Directors were officers. (See American Progress, Winter, 1958. The magazine gives no indication of the reason for the change, but merely announces that it is now published by the National Committee for Economic Freedom. Regular inside-cover ads for Dr. Ross' Pet Foods disappear with this issue.) The Stone operation appears to be far more prominent in the current efforts for income tax repeal than the ORFIT-American Progress Foundation combine.

Lewis' other affiliations:

-- Member, Board of Directors, Americanism Educational League (Sec 1 - ORG) (July, 1962, letterhead)

-- Member, National Advisory Committee, Christian Crusade (Sec. 4 - #11, Hargis); Lewis presided at 4/3/63 final rally in the joint Hargis-Gen. Walker "Midnight Ride" tour of the U. S. (Christian Crusade, May, 1963)

-- Director, Congress of Freedom. (Summit, Miss. Sun, 4/18/63) Lewis has been a Director at least since 1958 and was a speaker at the 1960 meeting. (See 1958 brochure and 1960 program. Also appearing at the 1960 meeting and at others, including this year's, was Gerald L. K. Smith's long-time assistant, Opal Tanner White.)

-- Freedom Clubs, Inc. Active in the mid-1950's, this tax-exempt group listed its address as "c/o D. B. Lewis" through 1958 and as the same as ORFIT and the American Progress Foundation thereafter. (990A returns filed with Internal Revenue Service)

-- Member, Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society, (1962 brochure)

-- Member, President's Council, Pepperdine College. (Who's Who in the West, op. cit.)

Philosophy: Fortune magazine characterized him in June, 1955, as "vehemently anti-union. He is sure that the U. S. is doomed to moral decay and political anarchy, thinks Eisenhower isn't much better than Truman." (Op. cit.) By 1962 he was being characterized as agreeing "with Welch that former President Eisenhower was a 'conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy.'" (Look, 3/16/62) The same source quotes him as warning that "Communists are invading our schools, colleges, churches and communications" and that "extension of the welfare state is the only way the Communists can take over this country." His own foreign policy is characterized as "simple and direct. Cuba? 'I'd blast the Communists off the map in 24 hours.'" (Ibid.)

(Replaces Manion page dated 4/23/62)

Sec 2 - IND
9/12/62

MANION, CLARENCE E.
St. Joseph Bank Building, South Bend, Indiana

Former Dean of College of Law at Notre Dame where he spent 25 years. Left Notre Dame in 1952 and in 1953 was appointed chairman by President Eisenhower of the Commission of Inter-Governmental Relations. After he publicly supported the Bricker Amendment and stated on a TV program that the TVA should be sold to private enterprise, Eisenhower asked for Manion's resignation in February of 1954. (Denver Post 10/20/53; St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2/23/54; N. Y. Times 2/22/54)

Established Manion Forum in October 1954, and continues to use it as major medium for his opinions. (See Manion Forum, Sec 1)

Member, National Council, John Birch Society (1962 brochure). His broadcasts are recommended by Robert Welch (White Book of the John Birch Society, 5/60, p. 17)

Member, Editorial Advisory Committee, American Opinion (9/62 issue)

Originator and active promoter of Committee For Equal Anti-Trust Law Protection, organized in April 1962. (See Sec 1 - ORG)

National Committee member and legal counsel for Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (letterhead 7/9/62)

National Advisory Committee of Hargis' Christian Crusade (1961 brochure)

Co-Chairman, incorporator, and member of National Policy Committee, For America (4/1/60 letterhead; 1962 brochure)

National Advisory Council, Campaign For the 48 States, organized in 1955 for a five-year plan to stop "inflation, Socialism, or collectivism . . . "

Co-Chairman of T. Coleman Andrews - Thomas H. Werdel National Committee (conservative third party candidates in 1956) and Chairman of the Interim Committee for Independent Political Action formed to continue that movement. (Press release 3/6/57)

Committee of Endorsers (signed ad, N. Y. Times 2/28/55)

Vice-Chairman, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (N. Y. Times ad 8/30/59) a Birch Society "front" (Welch, Blue Book)

Advisor, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (4/2/62 letterhead)

Endorser, Platform for Patriotic Americans (9/12/58 letterhead)

Sponsor, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters (12/29/61 letterhead)

Leader, Human Events Political Action Conference, Washington, D.C., January 6-7, 1961

Was key speaker at "Khrushchev Protest Rally" sponsored by National Review and Crusade For America, in New York City, September 17, 1959. (N. Y. Times 9/18/59)

Speaker at Harding College Freedom Forum XXIII, April 16-20, 1962 (National Program Letter 3/62)

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge has cited Manion five times for Americanism.

Manion has had two small books published by Heritage Foundation, 2720 Devon Avenue, Chicago 45, Illinois: "The Key to Peace" in 1951, and "Let's Face It", which is currently on the market. Both are on the John Birch Society list of approved books. He has also written many pamphlets, broadcast scripts, and essays which have achieved considerable circulation. "The Key to Peace" was widely circulated and promoted in schools by the American Legion.

MANION, MARILYN

Daughter of Clarence Manion (above)

Broadcast over Manion Forum, 4/30/61

Introduced at Human Events Political Action Conference, 7/13-14/62

McINTIRE, REV. CARL
Pastor, Bible Presbyterian Church, Collingswood, N. J.

Born Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1906. BA degree from Park College, Parkville, Mo. Studied at Princeton Theological Seminary. Followed Princeton's fundamentalist professor, Gresham Machen, to his new Westminster Seminary, Chestnut Hill, Pa. Divinity degree from Machen's Seminary, 1931. Machen group stirred dissension within Presbyterian Church. McIntire tried and "deposed" in 1936 for "disapproval, defiance, and acts in contravention of the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A." and "violation of his ordination vows." In 1950 he accepted an honorary divinity degree from Toronto Baptist Seminary, a small fundamentalist institution connected with McIntire's American Council of Christian Churches. Since then he has called himself "Dr. McIntire" or, on occasion, "Rev. Carl McIntire, DD, Litt. D, F.R.G.S." (See "Who is Carl McIntire?" 20th Century Reformation Hour, March, 1962)

Organizations

Founder of American Council of Christian Churches, Collingswood. (Now member-at-large of executive committee) and President, International Council of Christian Churches, Collingswood.

In 1941 McIntire — still without any "Dr" to his name — created the American Council of Christian Churches from the Bible Presbyterians and the Bible Protestants, two splinter evangelical groups. The purpose was to combat "soul destroying modernism," specifically, the established Federal Council of Churches. In 1950, when the Federal Council merged with 11 other interdenominational groups to form the National Council of Churches, he shifted his attack to the N. C. C. The extension of the ACCC, the International Council of Christian Churches, was similarly created in direct opposition to the established World Council of Churches. The monthly "Internationalletter," put out by the ICCC, consists almost entirely of attacks on the WCC. The ICCC also speaks out on world politics. A 1951 resolution "called for a preventive war against the Soviet Union." (Denver Post 7/8/53) The ICCC also publishes the quarterly "Reformation Review" and the Dutch "Getrouw."

At the 5th ICCC Congress in Amsterdam, August, 1962, McIntire charged that President John F. Kennedy was promoting the NCC's "one world church." He referred to revocations of tax-exempt status among fundamentalist churches and the denial of surplus goods to the ACCC's relief agency, International Christian Relief. (Washington Star 8/15/62)

Director, Christian Beacon, Inc., Collingswood, McIntire's main public operation. McIntire says he receives no income from this tax exempt corporation which sponsors the following "20th Century Reformation" activities:

1. 20th Century Reformation broadcasts. In May of 1962 McIntire announced that "God has given us 305 stations" and he asked for money to support them. By June the number was 313. ("An Open Letter to American Doctors" Carl McIntire) Expansion started in 1958 from a single station in Chester, Pa. McIntire hopes to have 600 stations by 1963, as he intends to use broadcasts and mass meetings to resist the appearance in this country of the delegation representing the Russian Orthodox Church in the WCC.

2. "Radio Letters" and circulars. In recent years these have consisted mostly of attacks on the U.S. "no-win" policy and attacks on the WCC or NCC.

3. 20th Century Reformation pamphlets, such as: "The New Bible, Revised Standard Version, Why Christians Should Not Accept It" (1961) and "A Bankrupt U.N." (1962)

4. "Christian Beacon" This 8-page weekly newspaper, established in 1936, claims distribution in 87 countries and an average circulation of 24,000. (Ayer's Directory) The subscription rate in 1962 was $2.00. Advertisement: "If you want to keep informed concerning the modernism and apostasy of the day, the infiltration of Communism and other enemies of Christ and the church into the denominations, the activities of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and the World Council of Churches, the closing of mission doors . . . "

President, Board of Directors, Shelton College, Ringwood, New Jersey, in association with colleagues in ACCC and ICCC. A 1962 brochure of Shelton College refutes charges of a Ringwood pastor that it is a John Birch cell and notes that Shelton students have been active in founding the Young Americans for Freedom and the National Student Committee for the Loyalty Oath.

A director, Highland College, Pasadena, California, a "liberal arts Christian College" and "part of 20th Century Reformation." ("Who Is Carl McIntire?", op. cit.)

President, Board of Directors, Faith Theological Seminary, Elkins Park, Philadelphia. Its president, Allen McRae, was a sponsoring committee member of ACCC. (Roy, R. L., Apostles of Discord, p. 191)

Vice-president, Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, Philadelphia, chartered in 1934 by McIntire and Machen to combat "the modernistic program" of Presbyterian missions. Associated with ACCC and ICCC.

President, Independent Board for Presbyterian Home Missions, Collingswood, also associated with ACCC and ICCC.

Significance

McIntire is also active in the general right-wing movement. He lectures extensively throughout the U.S. Signed McIntire articles are found in assorted right-wing publications including the extremist American Mercury and Task Force.

The March, 1962 list of McIntire's "recent tracts" numbered 18. Sample titles are "Private Enterprise in the Scriptures", "Mr. K and His Shoe", "Statements of Archbishop Nikodim compared With Testimony of Former Soviet Secret Police Officers." His books are numerous.

McIntire has close connections with powerful right-wingers throughout the U.S. As early as 1946, McIntire shared a platform with George S. Benson, President of Harding College, Searcy, Ark. (Carlson, J.R., The Plotters, p. 343) He has been extravagantly praised by Gerald L. K. Smith in his Cross and the Flag. (June, 1962) McIntire claims responsibility for discovering Fred Schwarz (Christian Anti-Communism Crusade) when McIntire was travelling in Australia with the Toronto Baptist, Dr. T. T. Shields. (Time, 2/9/62)

Shields and his fellow Baptist, Harvey Springer, have been McIntire's allies, particularly in his attacks on the Roman Catholic Church. (Roy, R.L., Apostles of Discord, P. 198 ff.) McIntire and Springer were named by the Anti-Defamation League as two of the four major "anti-Catholic extremists" who were agitating the religious issue in the 1960 presidential campaign. (Denver Post 11/15/60) Springer, the "Cowboy Preacher" from Colorado, is editor of the infamous "Western Voice" and a leader of Defenders of Christian Faith Inc., founded by the late Gerald Winrod. In early 1948, Springer began holding revivals in McIntire's church where he distributed his booklet, Termites, an attack on the NCC. (Roy, p. 200) Springer is an executive officer of ICCC and also president of World Baptist Fellowship, which in turn was organized around a Texas supporter of the ACCC, J. Frank Norris. T. T. Shields, a long-time friend of Norris, is Vice-president of ICCC. (Roy, p. 200 f.)

McIntire's allies in his attack on the liberal Protestants, which has lately overshadowed his attack on the Catholics, include Merwin K. Hart, President of the National Economic Council — the "Park Avenue" faction of the right-wing—a coalition of businessmen who fear and attack the National Council of Churches among other liberal institutions. (Carlson, The Plotters, p. 100) McIntire has been described by different sources as a close friend of Hart, and it was through Hart that McIntire was invited to speak at the Friends of Frank Fay rally in N. Y. in 1946. (Carlson, p. 290 and 344; Roy, p. 222) McIntire has had various other business ties. The Denver Post reported (7/8/53) that one southern mill owner is said to have contributed nearly $500,000 to McIntire's operations.

McIntire also appears to have maintained a relationship with Rev. Billy James Hargis, whose attacks on the NCC match McIntire's in tone and volume. Just recently a McIntire man, W. O. H. Garman (see below) spoke at Hargis' Pikes-Peak Summit meeting of the Christian Crusade, July, 1962. In 1953, McIntire supported the Hargis-influenced Air Force manual accusing the clergy of Communist infiltration. The attack on the clergy begins: "Does any sizable group of Americans ever fall for the Communist line, you may ask? Unfortunately, the answer is 'yes'." The Defense Department sent formal apologies to the NCC and said there would be no more distribution of the manual. McIntire recently went to the defense of the manual again in a 30 page answer to the NCC's pamphlet "The Truth", and he included a general defense of Hargis. McIntire points out Hargis' affiliation with his own group: Hargis "is a minister in the International Conference of Calvary tabernacles, an association of Independent churches, and as such he is a member of the International Council of Christian Churches. Further, he served as director of the Bible Balloon Project of the International Council of Christian Churches . . ." ("The Truth, An Analysis and Refutation," Carl McIntire, p. 18)

McIntire repeats in this booklet his old boast that he and Clyde Kennedy of the ACCC requested an interview with Secretary Gates to present documents supporting the accuracy of Hargis' statements in the notorious Air Force manual. McIntire was joined by Maj. Edgar C. Bundy in public support of the manual. Since then, McIntire and Bundy (recently famous as General Edwin A. Walker's apologist) have worked closely together. McIntire joined Bundy in 1952 in questioning the loyalty of John Foster Dulles; he has had Bundy on his broadcast; and Bundy's Church League of America advertises and distributes at least three McIntire pamphlets attacking liberal Protestants. Bundy was at one time a public relations man for McIntire's American Council of Churches. (Roy, p. 240)

McIntire recently added his voice to political extremist groups calling for abolition of the income tax. He launched this new campaign at an ACCC meeting in Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C. (Washington Post 10/30/62)

Political issues McIntire repeatedly pounds at are:

1. The U. N. is bankrupt (morally, organizationally, financially, etc.) and the "one world government", like the "one world church", is just around the corner.

2. The U. S. is following a "Give-away" policy. A most frightening display of the policy is the "super secret" Rostow paper outlining policy toward the satellite nations and disarmament. Disarmament is impossible because "The one thing which cannot be reached in dealing with the Reds is 'agreement'."

3. Behind "liberty" and "democracy" is the sinister shadow of a "planned society." The phrase "common man," McIntire explains in The Rise of the Tyrant, "is an innocent-sounding term, but it is filled with all the tyranny of State control." Labor laws must be revised to give people the "right to work." "The international overtones" of medical care programs should be understood by all.("An open letter to American Doctors," Carl McIntire)

4. The word "brotherhood" is similarly insidious. Specifically, the civil rights program is "serving the ends of radical powers that are working for a socialist order in this free land" and "racial brotherhood emphasis produces the class and racial strife in which the Communists delight."

McIntire is not considered a racist, though his ACCC is recommended by the KKK and supported by racist "Parson Jack" Johnston of the "Georgia Tribune." (Roy, p. 220 f.) Similarly, while McIntire's American Council of Churches has worked with Gerald Winrod (Roy, p. 280 f.) and has been associated in American minds with other notorious anti-semites (Roy, p. 219), one cannot accuse the ACCC of outright anti-semitism. An example of the McIntire technique is the Denton case. In 1948, William Denton used his December 5 broadcast for what has been called "one of the most flagrant attacks upon the Jews ever heard over the American radio." McIntire's method of defense for the discredited Denton was to have a Washington, D.C. public relations man in his ACCC, W.O.H. Garman (later president of ACCC), issue a news release which totally distorted the incident and left McIntire free to disclaim having had "any association" with Denton. Since then the anti-semitic editor of the "Williams Intelligence Summary", Robert H. Williams of Santa Ana, California, has stated that McIntire is doing "great work." (Roy, p. 220)

Some of McIntire statements on the organized church:

"All the Reds in the NCC are fully protected by the defenses of the NCC." (McIntire, "The Truth, An Analysis and Refutation")

The NCC is "apostate, Communist, and Modernist" (Carlson, The Plotters, p. 99)

The NCC is "the strongest ally of Russia and the radical labor movement within the U.S." (Roy, p. 238)

The WCC is "An ally with Russia in the struggle to undermine the capitalistic West. They are united in that purpose." (Roy, p. 239)

The Catholic Church is "the Harlot Church and the Bride of the Anti-Christ" (Repeated in a Christian Beacon broadcast series, December, 1945)

Roman Catholicism is the "greatest enemy of freedom and liberty that the world has had to face today . . . one would be much better off in a communistic society than in a Roman Catholic Fascist set-up." (Christian Beacon, September, 1945)

McIntire has called evangelist Billy Graham "a compromiser" (Roy, p. 224) and referred to Brotherhood Week, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, as a "gross perversion of Christian teachings." (Roy, p. 218)

MILLER, PAUL
Los Angeles, California

Poster artist

First joined the Communist party as an undercover agent for the FBI in 1939. Merchant Marine during World War II. From 1950 to 1955 again worked as undercover agent, along with his wife, Marion. (Speech by the Millers, 1/15/62, Denver, Colorado)

With Marion Miller, Honorary Member of the Steering Committee, Midwest School of Anti-Communism, 5/7-11/62 (brochure)

Faculty Member, Freedom University of the Air (The Freedom Press 10/24/62)

Denied that he was a member of the John Birch Society, but commended the Society on its anti-communist fight and its willingness to cooperate in a Congressional investigation of the organization. (Denver speech, 1/15/62)

Mrs. Miller describes her husband's delight in the heroics of counterspying in the following words:

"Paul envied me this last phase of my job, /testifying before the Justice Department/ come to me at a time when the FBI has bowed to my ulcers and released me and even the Party had had to confess I could no longer be of any use to them. Paul would have shinnied up a Congressman's back to get his ear, and called a press conference while he was shinnying. Where Communists are concerned, Paul revels in the climate of trouble. Under Red attack he eats six meals a day and sleeps like a child." (I Was A Spy, by Marion Miller, p. 196)

Miller always carries a gun and dramatically shows it to audiences (Rocky Mountain News 1/23/62; Denver Speech 1/15/62)

See Marion Miller, on reverse side

MILLER, MARION (Mrs. PAUL)
Los Angeles, California

Former FBI undercover agent who infiltrated the Communist Party.

Author: I Was A Spy (The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1960)

Speaker, Project Alert's School of Anti-Communism held in Los Angeles, December, 1961 (Americans on Guard)

With Paul Miller, Honorary Member of the Steering Committee, Mid-West School of Anti-Communism 5/7-11/62 (brochure)

Faculty Member, Freedom University of the Air (The Freedom Press 10/24/62)

Sponsor, Young Americans for Freedom Rally (New Guard 4/62)

Suggested Speaker, California Free Enterprise Association (1962 list)

Member, Advisory Board, American Committee to Free Cuba, Inc. (Newsletter, Feb., 1963)

Speaker, Men's Club dinner, Temple Emanuel, Denver, Colorado, 1/15/62

Defeated in April 2, 1963, election for Office #7 on the Los Angeles School Board after campaigning on a strong anti-communist platform claiming inspiration from Max Rafferty. (Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, 1/5/63 and 1/6/63)

Mrs. Miller's book, I Was A Spy, contains numerous anecdotes indicating the lack of such human emotions as motherliness (p. 132 ff.), dramatic reports of conversations in quotes though they can not be verbatim (p. 42 ff.), and unprovable accusations and implications such as the following:

"If I may intrude a personal note here, this man [an unnamed TV comedian] has to Paul and me the simpering, superior air of one who considers his audience not really worthy of his talents; and this air is part and parcel of every infected Communist we ever have met. Paul in particular -- and I have seen this proved out again and again -- can spot a Communist as acutely as a pathologist can spot a homosexual, and he will bet our new car that the comedian is a Red weapon knowingly.

"A TV commentator and interviewer, once widely seen and admired, has managed time and again to sound like a man who sounds like a Communist. * * *

"A widely-read newspaper columnist cannot seem to bring himself to speak unkindly of the Reds -- or during all this year to stop needling Dwight Eisenhower." (pp. 176-177)

See PAUL MILLER, on reverse

(Replaces MORRIS page dated 6/11/62)

Sec 2 - IND
4/10/63

MORRIS, ROBERT
Dallas, Texas

Born Jersey City, 1914; LLB Fordham University, 1939; Assistant Counsel, New York State Investigating Committee, 1940-41; naval intelligence officer, 1941-46; Assistant to Rep. F. R. Coudert, Jr. (R-N.Y.), 1946-50; minority staff member with Tydings Committee investigating charges of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy against the State Department, 1950; Counsel, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 1951-53 and 1956-58 /earlier term included McCarran Committee's re-investigation of McCarthy's charges/; judge, New York City Municipal Court, 1954-56. (Who's Who, 1962-63)

Unsuccessful candidate, against incumbent Clifford Case, for Republican Senatorial nomination in New Jersey, 1960. Among those listed by the Washington Post as backing Morris were: Adm. Ben Moreell, Charles Edison and Gen. Robert Johnson, all of Americans for Constitutional Action; former Congressman Fred Hartley; public relations executive James P. Selvage; and right-wing radio commentators Fulton Lewis, Jr. and Dan Smoot. The Morris campaign was credited with expenditures several times those of the Case campaign, a "conservative" estimate being set at $200,000. (Washington Post 4/17/60)

President, University of Dallas, 1960-62; his resignation from this post was announced by the Chancellor, Bishop Gorman, who said that it had been accepted as being "to the interest of all"; Morris denied any "conflict in philosophy with the university," and said that he wanted "to be completely unencumbered as we approach what I feel is a time of great crisis in the United States." (Dallas Morning News 6/9/62 and Dallas Times-Herald 6/9/62)

President, Defenders of American Liberty, since 1962. This is a conservative organization which claims to be patterned on the American Civil Liberties Union, but without the general membership aspect. (Christian Science Monitor 1/2/63) On behalf of the organization, Morris has served as attorney for former-General Edwin Walker. (Ibid. and Dallas Times-Herald 11/25/62)

Other affiliations:

Sponsor, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters (adv., Washington Post 1/9/63)

Member, National Strategy Committee, American Security Council (ASC Washington Report 3/18/63)

Member, Executive Board, Catholic Freedom Foundation (1961 letterhead)

Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations (Sept., 1962 letterhead)

Member, Emergency Committee for Chinese Refugees (adv., N. Y. Times 6/7/62)

Member, National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (1963 brochure)

Speaker: —to 700 members of the John Birch Society in Los Angeles (Los Angeles Times 1/13/61)

—at National Indignation Convention, Dallas (Dallas Times-Herald 10/14/61)

—at Midwest School of Anti-Communism, Omaha (Omaha World-Herald 5/9/62)

—at Greater New York Freedom Forum of King's College (6/7/62 program)

Author: No Wonder We Are Losing (Sec 3 - PUB), which is on the initial "approved" list of the John Birch Society (JBS Bulletin, July, 1961)

Received a 1962 George Washington Honor Medal from Freedoms Foundation (1963 Awards Brochure, which included following quote: "We are giving up more of our power . . . more of our sovereignty to . . . international organizations. . . . All they have to do is to get 55 per cent and we will be handcuffed to an organization controlled by a dedicated enemy." Deletions in brochure)

Morris has a regular column, frequently titled "Around the World," which appeare in such widely separated papers as the Dallas Morning News, the Brooklyn Tablet, and the Santa Barbara Freedom Press.

Philosophy: Morris has long emphasized the internal threat from Communism. A favorite recent target has been the United Nations and the disarmament negotiations. He has called the latter a "plan to dissolve the United States, as it exists today," and has written: "When we hear Adlai Stevenson press for the creation of a world army with the United States subordinated to it and realize that this can only mean merger with our enemy, could it be that . . . /the socialist/ planners are helping to create left-leaning neutrals all over the world to make the prospect of merger more palatable for Khrushchev." (Free Enterprise, June 1962 and Dallas Morning News 10/4/62)

MUNSON, LYLE HUGH
New York, New York

Founder and head of The Bookmailer (See Sec 1 - ORG)

University of Illinois, 1940

Served with OSS during war; later with CIA. Resigned from CIA in a dispute involving the handling of a security case.

". . . he developed a theory of propaganda, which was to hit the enemy where it hurt, rather than apologize throughout the world that the United States still harbors a majority of citizens who hope their country will never resign its sovereignty to a cabal of socialist politicians in the United Nations." (Finis Farr, "Embattled Bookman," National Review, 12/2/61, p. 384)

Mentioned by Robert Welch as a "good friend," willing to cooperate with the John Birch Society in reprinting and circulating anti-Communist material. (The Blue Book, p. 78)

Member, Board of Directors, Defenders of American Liberties (undated brochure)

Editor, For the Skeptic (Bookmailer, $3.00), a collection of readings on Communist activity in the United States to "help you to understand the mechanics of the Communist spy apparatus and its successes." On the John Birch Society's "Additional List of Approved Books." (White Book, 1960)

Author, Who Will Volunteer (Bookmailer, $2.00), photographs "documenting the way of life" on Quemoy Island and showing that it is defensible.

NATIONAL EAGLE
Portland, Oregon

A monthly paper published by Freedom Center, P. O. Box 3905, Portland, Oregon, (See Sec 1 - ORG) $5.00 a year.

Staff: Walter Huss, Founder-Publisher (Sec 2 - IND)

Frank Whetzel, Foreign Correspondent. Whetzel is President of Lan-Lay Corp., of San Francisco, which sells a "skin conditioner," and his business evidently involves frequent visits to the Far East. (See American Eagle, Jan.,1962 and National Eagle, April, 1963)

Until late 1962, the masthead listed as Editor, E. M. Jones, identified in the first issue as a "veteran Illinois newspaper man" and as having "written for nationally known personalities, including books on the communist conspiracy for one of the nation's leading anti-communist organization heads." (American Eagle, Jan., 1962. Post-1962 issues do not list an editor.)

Origin and name changes: The Huss organization, which was established in 1958, first published something called the Freedom Crusader. Then, in 1961, the publication's name was changed to Center Fax, along with an organization name-change from Freedom Crusade to Freedom Center. Fax was to be a monthly with an annual subscription rate of $1. At the beginning of 1962 the name and format were both changed again and the monthly American Eagle began publication with a newspaper format. The subscription rate was increased to $5 a year and the hope was expressed that frequency of publication could eventually be increased to weekly and then daily. The May, 1962 issue announced still another name change, to National Eagle, made necessary because of use by the National Law Enforcement Committee of the earlier name. Meanwhile, in March, it had been announced that another "conservative anti-communist newspaper," the Northwest Sentinel, of the Northwest Educational Corp. of Seattle, Washington, was suspending independent publication and being merged with the Eagle.

Content: The Eagle has combined its own material with rewrites from other publications and straight reprints. In some instances signed columns are used which may be reprints from other publications, with or without permission. The most frequent non-staff contributor has been Virginia Shackelford, of Tacoma, Wash., (e.g. Jan., Apr., June and July of 1962) Mrs. Shackelford, who was on the "faculty" of a Freedom Center School in 1961, is on the National Advisory Board of We, The People! (1962 brochure) and was affiliated with the Committee for Constitutional Government (American Eagle, Jan., 1962). For three years she was active in the John Birch Society but quit in a dispute "over the distribution of anti-Semitic literature . . . and the failure of the national organization to order the practice halted." However, Mrs. Shackelford says: "I still agree with the fundamental philosophy of Robert Welch and the Birch Society." (Seattle Times 2/12/63)

Among the sources from which the Eagle has chosen its reprints are: Herbert Philbrick (who also sent the publication a congratulatory message for its first

issue), Revilo Oliver, Robert Morris, Edward Hunter, the DAR's National Defense Committee, the American Security Council, the National Economic Council, The Freeman, Christian Economics, and items from the Congressional Record.

Some Quotes from various issues follow:

--"Oregon Congresswoman Votes for Communist-Approved Objectives Regularly . . . . Edith Green's Pro-Red Record: . . . . Edith Green could have taken her speech from the communist leader /Gus Hall/ almost word for word, for she is in complete agreement with him that the Right constitutes a threat." (Jan., 1962)

--"Do not be deceived by the so-called peace movements, such as strike for peace, etc. Also, do not be deceived by the disarmament movement. In the overwhelming majority, these are engineered by communists." (Mar., 1962)

--"The Federal Bureau of Investigation three months ago announced there are 300,000 KNOWN enemy agents in America. We have waited in vain for their arrest and conviction . . . . There is something very wrong - and very evil - about a government which KNOWS there are 300,000 enemy agents inside the country, but REFUSES to act against them." (Mar., 1962) In comment on this item, FBI Director Hoover has said "it apparently refers to the statement issued in June, 1960, by the State Department which estimated that Russian and Chinese communist bloc countries have some 300,000 agents serving throughout the world. I have commented on this fact on occasion but can assure you that neither I nor any representative of the FBI ever stated that this number was operating in the United States." (Letter of 4/6/62)

--"A supreme objective of the communist conspiracy against America is to drive it into bankruptcy as a nation and, like Roosevelt, Kennedy and his strange advisors are determined to finish the job." (July, 1962)

-- "Intermarriage is a communist - not a Christian - proposal. . . . . It is a law of God, creator of all races, that everyone and everything should produce after its own kind. To do otherwise is to produce a freak." (Aug., 1962. The May, 1963 issue was almost completely devoted to showing "that Martin Luther King, the NAACP and other race agitation /sic/, are tools forging ultimate Communist objectives.")

--"/U.N. Secretary-General/ U Thant is proving to be a communist stooge. Many believe the presence of the communist-infested United Nations inside America has the same deadly function as a 'trojan horse.' " (July, 1962)

APR 8 1964

NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY
1865 Bessemer Road (P. O. Box 783)
Birmingham, Alabama

The National States Rights Party appears to have grown directly out of the United White Party, a group organized around 1957 by Dr. Edward R. Fields, then a practicing chiropractor. In the spring of 1958 at a small meeting in Knoxville, the United White Party became the NSRP (James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962, New York, p. 183). Fields became Information Director of the new party and editor of its publication, The Thunderbolt, but he was and remains chief spokesman for the party. His long time associate, Jesse B. Stoner, an Atlanta attorney, was appointed and still serves as NSRP General Counsel.

Edward R. Fields was already an experienced racist and anti-Semite when he organized the NSRP. In 1946, at the age of 14, as a student at Marist College, a Catholic prep school in Atlanta, Georgia, and leader in a student movement for Eugene Talmadge, he joined the Columbians, a fascist storm-trooper group led by anti-Semite Emory Burke. The Columbians engaged in acts of violence and terrorism in Atlanta until they were dissolved and Burke was sentenced to 3 years in prison in 1946 (Pearson, Denver Post, 12/3/58; Cleveland Press series, Nov. 12 ff, 1946) Fields maintained his contacts, worked on a "Free Emory Burke Committee," and was associated closely with his fellow committeeman, Gen. George Van Horn Mosely. In 1949 and 1950, Fields wrote several letters to The Broom, anti-semitic West Coast weekly, defending super nationalists and soliciting members for a "Defense Committee" to "protect Americans from the terror of the Kike." (Cook, p. 181 supra) In 1952, while Fields and J. B. Stoner were both attending law school in Atlanta, they founded a paper organization called the Christian Anti-Jewish Party. (Cook, p. 182 supra) Fields picketed the White House under its banner in 1954. (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Facts, Sept. 1956). Stoner was ultimately admitted to the Georgia Bar, but Fields went on instead to attend the Palmer School of Chiropractics, Davenport, Iowa, from 1953-1956. He continued his anti-Semitic activities in Iowa, and was arrested at least once. In 1956 he was Acting Chairman of the Iowa America -Constitutional party which supported T. Coleman Andrews for President. He took part in the Chicago Committee of the Northern Friends of the South, which assembled in Chicago under Joe McWilliams in August, and in a National States Rights Conference in Memphis in Sept., 1956. (Facts, Sept. 1956) The Iowa America -Constitutional Party polled 3,200 of the 1,234,564 votes cast in Iowa. (Cook, p. 182 supra) Subsequently, Fields married and moved to Louisville, Kentucky, where he practiced chiropractics, worked with Millard Grubbs in the White Citizens' Council of Louisville, and founded his own United White Party, out of which NSRP developed.

Jesse B. Stoner, in 1941, at the age of 17, was an organizer for the America First Committee (Scripps-Howard column, Birmingham newspaper, 9/18/63), and the following year was a "Kleagle" (organizer) of a Ku Klux Klan group in Chattanooga. Later he claimed he was no longer a Klan organizer, but instead was "engaged in distributing Anti-Jewish literature." (John Roy Carlson, The Plotters, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1946, New York, p. 54). He worked with the Columbians while they were organizing armed patrols to keep Negroes out of white neighborhoods (Pittsburgh Courier, 10/5/61). In an interview in 1946 he announced that he was planning to found a new party which would out-Hitler Hitler, whom he termed a moderate. The Stoner Anti-Jewish Party, which proposed to make Judaism a crime punishable by death, received 541 out of 30,000 votes cast in 1948 when Stoner ran for Congress. (Cook, supra, p. 136-139). In 1952, as law students, Fields and Stoner changed the name of the Stoner Anti-Jewish Party to the Christian Anti-Jewish Party. Later, Stoner became General Counsel of the New NSRP when it was founded in 1958. By 1959 he was also involved again in Klan activities. He was Imperial Wizard of the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which opened its official four-state headquarters in Louisville, Kentucky, during the summer of 1959.

The Christian Knights differed from earlier Klans in accepting Catholics and the foreign-born as members (FYI, July 1959). Stoner continues to publish a small Klan bulletin in Atlanta (Cook, supra, p. 136-139) as well as serving actively in NSRP. He is author of Christianity's Attitude Toward the Jews As Explained from The Holy Bible (FYI Sept., 1960) and numerous articles in The Thunderbolt. NSRP's other early leaders also came from the United White Party:

Arthur Cole of LaFollette, Tennessee, was the first National Chairman.(Pearson, Denver Post, 12/3/58)

Matt Koehl, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, former leader of the young "elite guard" of the Hitler-dominated National Renaissance Party described in HUAC's 1953 report on Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups, was National Organizer (Pearson, Denver Post, 12/3/58), then Security Officer (FYI Dec., 1960) of NSRP until his resignation in March, 1962. (The Thunderbolt, April, 1962)

Ned Dupes, retired automobile salesman of Knoxville, Tennessee, was Secretary-Treasurer (Pearson, Denver Post, 12/3/58 and Memphis Commerical Appeal, 9/24/63, and later Chairman. (letterhead, April 1962)

Other former officers have included Rev. Gordon Winrod, Rev. Oren Potito, Emory Burke, Roy Frankhouser and James K. Warner. Currently (1964) the National Officers are:

Chairman: Ned Dupes
Vice Chairman: Mrs. E. L. Bishop
Secretary: Bernice Settle
Co-ordinator: Robert A. Bowling
Youth Leader: Jerry Dutton
Associate Editor: Jim Thornton
Information Director: Edward R. Fields
(See Appendix A for brief biographical notes)

Originally NSRP headquarters was Jeffersonville, Ind., presumably in the home of Mrs. Peter Cowin. (FYI, July, 1958) In 1960, headquarters were moved to Birmingham, Alabama. The party encountered some difficulty in obtaining office space (FYI Sept., 1960), but eventually rented a stone building at 1865 Bessemer Road which was outfitted to resemble military headquarters, decorated with a large Confederate flag and plaques pic-

furing the thunderbolt symbol (below), and including a bunkroom where several of the members live. (N.Y. Times, 9/6/63)

In Montgomery, where NSRP has a flourishing unit a small building houses the "Patriotic National Center and School of Racial Studies and Leadership Training." The school, which opened in September, 1962, was to be headquarters for the youth sections of each unit and the building included a dormitory for the students as well as class rooms. (The Thunderbolt, August, 1962) In 1963 Robert Bowling's National White Americans Party merged with NSRP and as part of the merger, NSRP acquired a ten-room house in Atlanta. (FYI October, 1962)

NSRP adopted from the old Columbians the streak of lightning symbol and the masthead of The Thunderbolt, their monthly propaganda newspaper. Since the first issue, in July of 1958 (Chicago Sun-Times 9/9/63), The Thunderbolt has appeared regularly except for a few issues at the end of 1963, when Fields was under indictment. It has increased from 4 to 12 pages and costs $3.00 annually. During 1962 it received the subscription lists of "Parson Jack" Johnson's weekly Georgia Tribune (The Thunderbolt, Jan., 1962), William Stephenson's defunct Virginian (FYI April 1962), and James K. Warner's "Action" (The Thunderbolt, April, 1962); and in 1963 H. G. Jones's The Rebel (The Thunderbolt, Jan., 1963). By the end of 1963, The Thunderbolt had a circulation of 30,000. (FYI, Dec., 1963)

NSRP holds a National Convention annually. Aside from their own officers, speakers have included: John Kasper, former head of the Seaboard White Citizens Council; Joseph Beauharnais, Chicago, former head of the White Circle League (Facts, Oct-Nov., 1958); Peter Xavier, Dayton, Ohio, former publisher of the anti-semitic Dayton Independent; Daniel Kurtz, Queens, New York, who introduced himself as "the real head of the Christian Front"; Rev. William M. Nevins, Lexington, author of Segregation Vs. Integration; George Michael Bright, Atlanta, indicted in connection with the bombing of the Atlanta Temple (FYI Dec. 1960); Adm. John Crommelin; Minutemen leader Robert DePugh, Norbourne, Mo.; Wally Butterworth, Atlanta. (Sept. 1962 announcement) and Attorney Matt H. Murphy, Jr., Birmingham. (The Thunderbolt March 1964)

NSRP joined the "Northern European Ring," an international fascist group of associations in early 1961 and was welcomed by the British National Party into its "circle of friendship and co-operation." (FYI, Feb. 1961) Generally, however, NSRP's stated policy is "peace and friendship with all other right-wing organizations but entangling alliances with none." (The Thunderbolt, March 1964).

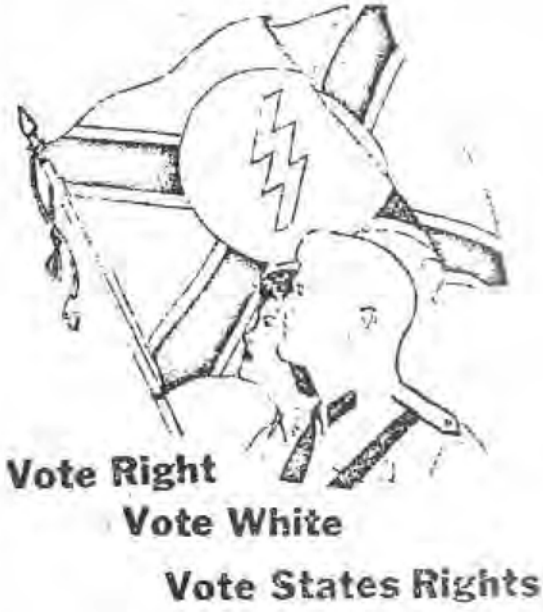
At least two organizations, The National White American Party and The Conservative Party of America, have merged with NSRP (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 9/24/61 and The Thunderbolt, Feb., 1963). Small extremist groups, like John Patler's American National Party have won NSRP's lavish praise. (The Thunderbolt, March 1962)

But with the established right wing groups like Courtney's Conservative Society of America, Welch's John Birch Society, and even Rockwell's American Nazi Party, NSRP has been in violent disagreement (The Independent American, October, 1962; The Thunderbolt, August, 1962; The Thunderbolt, March, 1964). The March, 1964, Thunderbolt contains an ultimatum to members to disassociate themselves even from "Minute Man type groups," although Minutemen leader Robert De Pugh had been a featured speaker at NSRP's 1962 convention.

Finances: As a political party, NSRP files quarterly financial reports with the Clerk of the House of Representatives. Its income totaled $15,555 in 1961, and rose to $44,201 in 1963. Expenditures were comparable--from $14,209 in 1961 to $42,828 in 1963. NSRP sells The Thunderbolt ($3.00 a year), various pins, tie-clips and banners, and some books and pamphlets and charges a small membership fee.

Presumably the greater part of its income is from contributions, most of them relatively small. In 1961 only three contributors gave over a hundred dollars. By 1963, there were 40 contributions of $100 or more, the largest single amounts being two $500 gifts, both from F. W. Sullinger, Miami, Florida.

Field's salary has risen from $300 (October 1961) to $550 a month (4th quarter, 1963). Warner, as associate editor, was paid an average monthly salary of $177 in 1962 and was gradually raised to $350 a month in 1963. Otherwise, there seems to be no permanent paid staff, salaries being paid on a temporary intermittent basis. The remainder of the expenditures are paid out for rent, modest legal fees, usually to Stoner, travel expenses, advertisements, and miscellaneous minor items.



Party Objectives

"We of the National States Rights party believe in the Christian heritage of our people, the White Race and the Nation which the Whiteman created out of the wilderness of this continent . . . . We believe in the principles laid down by our forefathers in the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights contained therein . . . We will not allow the blood of our people to be polluted with that of black, yellow, or mongrel peoples . . . All that is patriotic, good, clean, and decent springs forth from the foundations of our White folk . . . We dedicate ourselves to the task of saving America and the White Race and the preservation of the pure blood of our forefathers, so that all future generations which come after us will be born as White children with a creative intelligence that will strengthen our civilized influence over the world for the good of all mankind." (From the preamble to the party's constitution and bylaws.)

". . . racial integration of we White people is a Jewish directed scheme to mongrelize the White Race, so that the almighty Jew can sit upon a throne to rule a world populated by a mass of mulato like zombies." (The Thunderbolt, April 1962)

"When we take power, we will remove all Negroes, Jews, and Orientals from the United States. Then we will open the doors to real immigration from northern Europe to improve our racial stock.

"We are going to follow Abraham Lincoln's plan and repatriate the Negro to Africa. We would subsidize those of our Negroes who would voluntarily go back to Africa. Those who didn't go voluntarily wouldn't be rewarded.

"A Good plan for our Orientals would be to set up a separate state for them in, say, Hawaii.

"Anti-Jewish groups for many, many years have stated that Palestine should belong to the Christians and Arabs. A good place to settle the Jews might be Madagascar."

Of the Jews, Negroes, and Orientals who do not wish to go -- "Later on the country would have to be purified." (Dr. Edward R. Fields in an interview with James Graham Cook, quoted in The Segregationists, pp. 178-9.)

"And we've been preaching a 'Fire Your Nigger' campaign at our meetings to force more of them to leave the South." (Fields; Kansas City Star 7/21/63)

Philosophy and Action Program

NSRP is both anti-negro and anti-semitic, but it has always considered Jews the principal enemy and the Negro civil rights movement merely an instrument of a Jewish conspiracy.

"The Jew again has us fighting the ignorant Negro, when it is the Jew who has all along been masterminding this crime against all of our White womanhood. The Jew despises our race and seeks to force us into submission by mongrelizing our people with the black race . . . . He wishes to force us down into low degeneracy of the Negro, while the Jew remains safe and segregated behind the ghetto walls of his Jewish Community Center, his private all Jew schools, fraternities and clubs. . . . . The Jew is the satanic enemy of the White Christian way of life." (Thunderbolt, Feb., 1961)

NSRP's perennial candidate Crommelin expressed the same theory:

"WHEREAS, The satanic plot to mix the blood of the Whiteman with the negro is financed and directed by the 'communist-jewish conspiracy' . . . ." (Platform statement, Thunderbolt, March, 1962)

On July 27, 1958, NSRP members picketed in Atlanta, Louisville and Washington, D. C., with placards and handbills of "The National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination," a George Lincoln Rockwell front (Facts, Oct.-Nov., 1959). The Atlanta group, at least two of whom were known members of NSRP, said that the decision to picket was made at a meeting of NSRP. Mrs. Edna Cowan of NSRP was among those arrested in Louisville. (FYI, Aug. 1958)

On October 12, 1958, the Temple, an Atlanta, Georgia, synagogue, was dynamited and the five suspects who were arrested were all associated with NSRP. One of them, George Michael Bright, claimed not to be a member of NSRP though he was identified as such by a witness and had been previously arrested July 27 for picketing with NSRP members (see above). Fields, Koehl, and Arthur Cole appeared as witnesses for the defense. (Cook, supra, p. 168-9) Bright was acquitted after a second trial because of insufficient evidence. The indictment against NSRP member Robert Bowling was dismissed before Bright's second trial. Kenneth C. Griffin and Richard Bowling, both NSRP members and Wallace H. Allen were subsequently released. (Facts, Feb.-Mar. 1959)

Meanwhile, a Citizens' National Law Enforcement Commission had been formed in Louisville, Kentucky, to combat the investigations following the synagogue bombing. It was headed by Millard Grubbs and included NSRP convention speakers Kurtz, Xavier and Beauharnais. Similar groups were the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Atlanta Five, Sandy Springs, Ga., headed by William Stephenson, editor of The Virginian, and Mrs. Wallace Allen; and The American Party, World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists, headed by George Lincoln Rockwell (FYI, December, 1958).

When the Eichmann trial began in Israel, NSRP established an Adolf Eichmann Trial Facts Committee and called for emergency contributions of $10 to $100. On behalf of the committee, Fields said:

"If spies, traitors, and Communists were executed in Germany during the war, and they turned out for the most part to all be Jews -- SO WHAT? Are we going to crawl in the dirt in the name of Jewry, and beg the Jews to forgive the White Race because a Whiteman once meted out Justice to the Jews? I say NO, A THOUSAND

TIMES NO! We are going to fight these greedy, scheming Jews, who seek to destroy our Race, Nation, and Faith and everything we hold dear. Whatever the final solution to the Jewish problem turns out to be, it will be the Jew who will bring it upon himself. The wrath of all the peoples of the world is upon his head . . . ." (Cook, supra, p. 171-172)

Gov. Orval E. Faubus, who had been NSRP's unwilling presidential nominee in 1960 denounced as "ridiculous" the Thunderbolt's charge that Jews faked atrocity stories about Nazi death camps and that Jews provoked World War II. (Washington Star, 4/13/61)

In June, Matt Koehl was arrested in Chicago after his pro-Eichmann demonstration turned into a brawl. (FYI, June 1961)

In March, 1962, The Thunderbolt called for impeachment of President Kennedy and listed fifteen examples of treason. The front page picture is captioned "Actual picture of Zionist Jew Pierre Salinger sitting behind Kennedy's desk while the 'President' vacations in West Palm Beach, Florida." Further along the article explains:

"Since he has packed the government with left wingers who are friendly toward communism and deliberately surrounded himself with Jewish advisors, and Jewish speech writers, it is easy to understand why Kennedy hates those people who are patriotic enough to join patriotic right-wing organizations which are dedicated to defeating communism. He is not only against super-patriots, Kennedy is against all patriots and the same is true of Eisenhower, Truman and Nixon."

The Thunderbolt issues a steady stream of anti-Semitic propaganda. The July, 1961, issue devotes the entire center spread to proof that "Communism is Jewish," and that the Russian leaders either are Jewish or have Jewish wives. The front page story of the same issue attacks the Birmingham News and its owner, Samuel I. Newhouse. The story ends: "With Associated Press and United Press International . . . and NBC-TV, CBS-TV & ABC-TV all owned by Jews, Americans need more FREE PRESS newspapers like 'The Thunderbolt' . . . . READ THE TRUTH - SUBSCRIBE TO 'THE THUNDERBOLT'"

Throughout 1962 and 1963 The Thunderbolt ran in serial form Henry Ford's "The International Jew." Other major anti-Semitic articles include "The Talmud" (April and May, 1962) "Kosher Slaughter" (January 1963) and another "Communism is Jewish" article (February, 1963).

NSRP reprinted Jewish Ritual Murder by Arnold S. Leese as a book and offered it for $1 a copy (Thunderbolt, Jan. 1963). In August, 1963 they made available The International Jew in a cloth-bound edition for $3.00.

While propaganda has been their main weapon against Jews, the Negro civil rights movement has given NSRP opportunity for violent physical opposition to Negroes.

Their reputation as an extremist segregationist group led Mayor Claude Smithson of Fairfield, Ala., to obtain a court injunction cancelling an NSRP public rally scheduled for Oct. 11, 1961. Fields and member Robert Lyons were arrested when they tried to announce that the meeting would be held in Lipscomb, Ala., instead. (Washington Post, 10/21/61). The Alabama Court's contempt convictions were set aside December 16, 1963, by the U. S. Supreme Court on the grounds that there was no evidence that Fields and Lyons had violated the injunction. The American Civil Liberties Union, backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had defended them and were reportedly hopeful of obtaining a more far-reaching decision on the question of Constitutional rights of freedom of speech and assembly. (N. Y. Times 12/17/63)

In contrast to the Fairfield situation, NSRP obtained the City Municipal Auditorium in Montgomery for a rally of 300 people on Nov. 16, 1961. (FYI Dec., 1961)

In the fall of 1962, seven NSRP members traveled to Oxford, Mississippi, to join the protest against James Meredith's enrollment in the University. They included Rev. Oren Potito, Robert O. Perrow and former Lt. Col. Ervin Robert Whitman of St. Petersburg and Jerry Dutton, the Bowlings and Crommelin. (Chicago Sun-Times, 9/9/63) Potito was detained and some firearms were confiscated from his car. (N. Y. Post, 9/10/63) NSRP members Rev. R. E. Brown and Jerry Dutton picketed Dr. Martin Luther King in Montgomery in Nov. 1962. (Thunderbolt, Jan., 1963) On March 26, 1963, four NSRP members, Dutton, James K. Warner, a Mr. Webb of Birmingham and an unidentified man, picketed the University of Alabama to protest a speech by Arthur Dean. (Crimson and White, University of Alabama, 3/28/63) Warner was convicted of trespassing on University of Alabama property and sentenced to 6 months in jail and a $100 fine.

Integration of Birmingham schools and lunch counters in 1963 stimulated the party's rascist activities.

NSRP leaflets blaming Jews for instigating Negro demonstrations were distributed in Birmingham. (FYI, May 1963) On April 25, in Montgomery, Attorney General Robert Kennedy's conference with Governor George Wallace was picketed. Seventeen pickets were arrested despite the protests of Admiral Crommelin, who is pictured in The Thunderbolt (undated issue, probably July, 1963) as leading the demonstrators, but at the time of the arrests was on the sidelines. (FYI, May, 1963) Arrested and fined $50 were: Jerry Dutton, J. K. Warner and James O. Murray of Birmingham. Crommelin posted appeal bonds of $100 for the three who were represented by Stoner. He also posted bond for seven others who had been fined $25 each. The remaining six paid their $25 fines.

NSRP's next demonstration was a motorcade through Birmingham. Scuffles with Negro civil rights demonstrators resulted in a broken hand for James Warner. (The Thunderbolt, undated issue, probably July, 1963) On May 5, a huge figure of Martin Luther King hung in effigy was erected outside NSRP headquarters. (Denver Post, 5/6/63)

NSRP organized a rally attended by 75 people to urge

support of Governor Wallace's plan to block desegregation of the University of Alabama.

The handbills read "White Men, Unite. Back Governor Wallace. Help us stop negro mixing at the University of Alabama. Now is the time for action." (N. Y. Times 6/5/63)

Fields addressed the rally outside Montgomery and announced plans for another meeting at which he and Stoner would both speak. (Birmingham News, 6/6/63)

On July 22, NSRP distributed the first of the "Birmingham Daily Bulletins" -- mimeographed sheets covering the integrating of Birmingham stores and urging "selective buying." 3,000 Bulletins a day were distributed free on the streets by NSRP members. On August 2, Fields, Warner, Dutton and Albert deShazo were arrested for parading without a license outside the integrated stores. They carried placards reading "This store serves Negroes" and waved Confederate flags.

On August 9 it was announced that the Daily Bulletin would become weekly Bulletins and would be mailed to Thunderbolt subscribers as well as distributed on the streets. By that time integration of rest rooms and lunch counters in most of the stores was an accomplished fact. Although still attempting a boycott of the stores, Fields was turning his attention to the coming school fight. A rally was called for August 9 at which Fields and Rev. Conrad Lynch were to discuss these issues. (Birmingham Weekly Bulletin, Aug. 9, 1963)

NSRP planned a counter demonstration in Washington, D. C. on August 28, the day of the big March for Jobs and Freedom. William Hoff, New York State Director, said that he would lead the New York delegation, which would be one of forty. (Washington Evening Star, 8/25/63) However, the plans apparently were abandoned.

On September 4, Alabama schools opened. Before the day of the opening NSRP had circulated petitions demanding that integrated Birmingham schools be closed. These were delivered to the Governor's executive secretary by a 100-car caravan led by uniformed party members. (The Thunderbolt, Nov., 1963) On Sept. 3, NSRP had staged two open-air rallies, drawing crowds of 600 and 2,000 (FYI, Sept. '63) to lay plans for protesting the opening of the integrated schools. The next morning 150 organized segregationists, mostly members of NSRP, picketed West End High School in Birmingham, then left in a motorcade for Graymont Elementary where the two Negro children had already registered and left. It was reported that a large group of demonstrators, urged on by Fields, suddenly charged police lines. They were driven back and two were arrested, one of them Warner. The segregationists then marched to Ramsay High School where fighting broke out when Fields and others refused to obey police orders. Four persons were arrested. (Washington Post and New York Times, 9/5/63) The next day, September 5, about 25 NSRP members rallied in preparation for further demonstrating, but the three integrated schools had been closed. (N. Y. Times, 9/6/63)

On September 15, the 16th Street Baptist Church of Birmingham was dynamited and four children were killed. Shortly afterward further clashes left two Negro boys dead and one white boy wounded. Denying any connection with the bombing, Fields complained that "This has disrupted everything for us." Fear of retaliation led NSRP to call off demonstrations and motorcades, and Fields even moved his family out of their home.

Two teenagers apprehended for the street murder of a young Negro boy had participated in NSRP demonstrations and rode a motor scooter decorated with Confederate flags supplied by NSRP. (Scripps Howard Column, 9/18/63, a Birmingham, Ala., paper)

Among the suspects arrested in connection with the bombing were NSRP member Charles Cagle, Klansman Robert E. Chambliss and John W. Hall. All were charged with illegal possession of dynamite, fined, sentenced to six months prison terms, and released on bond. (N. Y. Times, Oct. 1, 2, 9, & 10, 1963)

Members of NSRP were indicted by a special Federal grand jury investigating interference with the school desegregation court order. They were Fields, Dutton, Stoner, Warner, Ralph W. Lewandowski of Chicago, David Stanley of Toronto, Barnie Carmack of Birmingham and Jack Cash of Birmingham. Cash, an associate but not a member of NSRP, was charged with violating the National Firearms Act. The others, all members of NSRP, were charged with conspiring to interfere with the Federal Court's desegration order. (Washington Post, 9/24/63)

Fields charged that they were victims of "a frame up by the Kennedys." (Washington Daily News, 9/18/63) A six-page "Personal Newsletter" sent out probably in October, explained that the Kennedys had their "local stooges . . . conspire with local FBI agents and city detectives . . . to dream up the most unbelievable and false charges we have ever heard of." It went on to accuse the Kennedys, the Communists and the Negroes of dynamiting the 16th Street Church to revitalize the civil rights movement and to paralize the white people with fear and thus stop their resistance.

"The Kennedys also want to frame us into prison as a warning to you, and others including other right wing organizations, as to just what will happen to them, if they dare oppose the tyrannical dictates of the Kennedy Gangsters. We are actually under Red rule at this very moment."

The newsletter then asked voluntary contributions for a defense fund. In charge of the fund were Carl Ridout, Hugh Delenne and Fields.

Since Stoner, the NSRP attorney, was himself under indictment, the Party engaged Matt H. Murphy, Jr., as their lawyer. (Thunderbolt, 2/1/64) In February of 1964 the cases were dismissed. (Personal Newsletter, Feb. 1964) Attorney Murphy was announced as the main speaker at the Party's March 1 convention in Louisville, Ky. (ibid)

Political Action

Fields refuses to give membership figures but claims that NSRP is the third largest political party in the

United States. However, the New York Post, (9/10/63) estimates the membership at only 150, probably a low figure.

The party has consistently supported Admiral John G. Crommelin in his many tries for political office. The Admiral runs as a Democrat, although he accepts NSRP support and in turn publicly supports the party. (See Crommelin, Sec. 2 - IND.)

On August 30 and 31, 1958, NSRP held a closed convention in Liberty Hall, Louisville, Kentucky, and organized a political offensive. They "drafted" Crommelin as their candidate for president in 1960 and Millard Grubbs head of the Kentucky White Citizens Council, as candidate for Governor of Kentucky. The meeting was attended by 100 delegates from 18 states, chiefly representatives of other conservative third party groups. (Facts, Oct-Nov., 1958) The party held its next national meeting, April 11-13, 1959, in Knoxville. (FYI, May 1959)

On May 3, 1960, the Alabama branch held a state convention at Opelelka, Crommelin's home, and entered a slate of presidential electors on the Alabama ballot. NSRP state secretary Lee J. Crowder and state chairman Douglas Knowles, both of Opelelka, filed the document. Despite a previously announced decision to "draft" Crommelin for President, the party named Gov. Orville Faubus of Arkansas as their candidate and ran Crommelin for Vice President. (FYI, Sept. 1960) Faubus specifically denied his candidacy and was removed from the ballot in Florida (FYI, Oct. 1960), but NSRP was represented on the ballots of Arkansas, Tennessee, Delaware and Alabama. It polled 7% of the vote in Faubus' home state, Arkansas, just over 1% in Tennessee and much less in Delaware and Alabama. (FYI, Jan. 1961) In August, 1962, The Thunderbolt announced that the party was permanently on the ballot in Arkansas.

On Nov. 26-27, 1960, NSRP held a post election convention in Chattanooga, attended by fifty delegates from ten states. (FYI, Dec. 1960) The 1961 Annual Convention was announced for Labor Day in New Orleans (The Thunderbolt, July, 1961), and the 1962 convention was held in Montgomery on September 2. (The Thunderbolt, Aug. 1962)

Racism and anti-Semitism so dominate NSRP political philosophy that other issues are seldom mentioned. Fields, however, has said that NSRP stood for outlawing the Communist Party in the United States and arresting its members; segregation through abolition of public schools and establishment of private schools; election rather than appointment of the Supreme Court; U. S. withdrawal from the United Nations and the establishment instead of a U. N. of White people. On the other hand, Fields said at the same time that the party was not opposed to slum clearance, unemployment assistance, old age pensions, and similar welfare measures. Opposition to Barry Goldwater was based chiefly on anti-semitism, but Fields also suggested that Goldwater was too conservative for the party. (Cook, supra, p. 183-184)

Later, the March 1962 issue of the Arkansas NSRP Newsletter suggests a more typically right wing program: opposition to the establishment of a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, to fluoridation and to the Federal income tax. By mid-1963 NSRP had decided that Goldwater was too liberal and seemed to be considering Strom Thurmond as their nominee for president. (N.Y. Times 9/6/63) The party launched a campaign to impeach Kennedy in February of 1962 (The Thunderbolt, Feb., March, April, etc. 1962) which centered less on political issues than on accusations of immorality in the President's personal life. The May 1962 Thunderbolt circulated the previously discredited rumor that Kennedy had suppressed knowledge of an early marriage and divorce. (See Washington Post, 9/17/62; Newsweek, 9/24/62 for story and refutation) The July-1963 issue accused the President of adultery.

NSRP joined the Rev. Poitto in his "Petition for Prayer" campaign in August of 1962, after the Supreme Court's school prayer decision. The drive was launched at an NSRP meeting. (The Thunderbolt, Aug. 1962) Later, members J. K. Warner, William Hoff, Jim Murray, and Robert Warner, Jr. delivered the petition in Congress. (The Thunderbolt, Jan. 1963)

A special issue of The Thunderbolt (#52, July or August 1963) was devoted to an attack on Goldwater, chiefly because of Jewish ancestry, but in August The Thunderbolt pointed out that Goldwater had supported the Civil Rights March on Washington.

The 1964 convention was held March 1 in Louisville, Kentucky, the home of Millard D. Grubbs serving as Convention headquarters. Attended by 200 people, it named John Kasper presidential candidate and J. B. Stoner his running mate. Kasper did not attend the convention, but Stoner was one of the speakers. (Louisville Courier-Journal, 3/2/64)

Kasper, now an automobile dealer in Nashville, Tennessee (Louisville Courier-Journal, 3/2/64) was the founder and "Director" of the Seaboard White Citizens Councils. (Facts, Sept. 1956) This group, which was not affiliated with the federation, Citizens Councils of America, was described as a Hitler-inspired movement to deport Negroes and de-citizenize Jews. (Denver Post, 12/1/58)

Kasper lived at Crommelin's house and worked on the campaign when Crommelin ran against Lister Hill in 1956. Crommelin regarded him highly and accompanied him on his trips to Clinton, Tennessee, where he led anti-integration riots. Later Crommelin testified in his defense as a character witness. (See Crommelin, Sec 2 - IND) Kasper served three prison terms for leading rioting against school integration in Clinton and Nashville. The newly formed NSRP was among those who welcomed him back upon his release from Federal Correctional Institute in August, 1958. (FYI Aug. 1958) He was the main speaker at their closed convention later that month, where he was reported to have explained his former cordial associations with Negroes in Greenwich Village, N.Y.: "I used to think all our problems would be solved if every nigger would kill a kike. . . . But I find I overestimated the nigger mind." (Pearson, Denver Post, 12/4/58) Although never a member of NSRP, Kasper has maintained close contact with Fields. The Thunderbolt, Feb. 1962 announced his marriage in an article which praised him as being the first to carry the school fight in the South.

Appendix A

Biographical Notes on Some NSRP Leaders

Mrs. E. L. (Ann) Bishop, Little Rock, Ark.

National Vice Chairman, 1960-
Mrs. Bishop, former store clerk who had suddenly grown wealthy in oil speculation, was rewarded with the vice-chairmanship in 1960 for her political work on the party's behalf during the election campaign. She had obtained 29,552 signatures on a petition to place NSRP on the Arkansas ballot (Cook, supra, p. 173), where it polled 7% of the vote, by far the largest percentage in the four states where it was represented. (FYI, Jan. 1961) Her enthusiasm was rebuked on the floor of both the Arkansas House and Senate in January 1961 after she placed copies of the January Thunderbolt on the desks of all the legislators without authorization. (FYI, Feb. 1961)

Robert A. Bowling, Atlanta, Georgia

National Coordinator, 1962-
Bowling, long-time NSRP member and head of the National White Americans Party, became National Coordinator of all NSRP units in 1962 when National White Americans merged with NSRP. (Memphis, Commercial Appeal, 9/24/61) Bowling had belonged to Fields and Stoner's Christian Anti-Jewish Party in 1954 (Facts, Oct-Nov. 1958), and was one of the five men arrested in the Atlanta Temple bombing case, 1958. He headed the Remember Mary Phagan Committee, a group formed to keep alive the memory of a factory child allegedly murdered by a Jewish factory owner in 1913. The story of the murder and the forming of the Committee had been highly publicized by The Thunderbolt. (Feb., 1961) He was arrested April 1, 1963 in Atlanta for stealing from parking meters. (FYI, May 1963)

Emory Burke, Montgomery, Alabama

President, School of Racial Studies and Leadership Training, Sept.-Dec. 1962. Burke, the old leader of the Columbians, was welcomed into NSRP with considerable excitement in August, 1962, and was immediately appointed President of the "Patriotic National Center and School of Racial Studies and Leadership Training" and director of a speakers' bureau. In addition he was issued membership card #1 (in recognition of his importance), and The Thunderbolt carried a full page of quotations from him. (The Thunderbolt, Aug., 1962) Following his release in 1949 after three years in a Georgia prison, he had worked for Crommelin in the gubernatorial campaign of 1958 (Facts, Oct-Nov. 1958) and for Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade. From 1958 on he had been advisor of NSRP. (The Thunderbolt, Aug. 1962) Despite his warm reception, Burke's association with NSRP ended rather abruptly by January, 1963. After a fight with Winrod he resigned to establish a one-man group of his own. (The Thunderbolt, Jan., 1963)

Jerald Quillan Dutton, Atlanta and Birmingham

Youth Leader, 1962-
Dutton was Information Director of the National White Americans Party before its merger with NSRP. (Norfolk Journal and Guide, 10/5/63) One of his early projects as NSRP Youth Leader was to start a dog corps in the Atlanta area. (The Thunderbolt, Jan., 1962)

Roy Frankhouser, Reading, Penn.

National Organizer, 1960-?
Frankhouser is also a member of the American Nazi Party and leader of his local unit of Fighting American Nationalists, a Rockwell affiliate. (FYI, Nov., 1962) He was active in the fight to prevent integration of restaurants along Route 40 in the Baltimore area. (The Thunderbolt, Jan., 1962) Arrested in Baltimore for making a pro-segregationist speech on the sidewalk, his case was handled by the American Civil Liberties Union. (ACLU 43rd Report, July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1963) Later he was arrested and fined by a Pittsburgh court, August 19, 1963, for distributing Nazi hate literature. (FYI, Sept. 1963)

Rev. Oren F. Potito, St. Petersburg, Florida

National Organizer, 1962-
Appointed National Organizer in May 1962, Potito, South Eastern Director of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, and pastor of congregations in Tampa, St. Petersburg and Jacksonville, served as campaign manager in 1962 for Adm. John Crommelin. He listed his other affiliations as the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America, the American Archeological Association, the Paul Revere Foundation and the Paul Revere Society, of which he is President, and the U. S. Rangers. (The Thunderbolt, May 1962) Later he headed the National Christian Congressional Committee, St. Petersburg, Fla., which opposed the Supreme Court's school-prayer decision. (The Thunderbolt, Aug. 1962)

James P. Thornton, California

Associate Editor, The Thunderbolt, 1964-
Thornton was California State Organizer for NSRP (The Thunderbolt, Aug. 1962) then State Director (The Thunderbolt, Feb., 1963). He replaced Warner as Associate Editor of the paper in March of 1964. (masthead)

James K. Warner, Birmingham, Alabama

Associate Editor, The Thunderbolt, 1962-1964
Warner, originally of Wilkes-Barre, Penn., presumably entered the segregationist field as a subscription agent for the Citizens Councils of Florida. In 1959 he opened a right wing bookstore in Wilkes-Barre and began publication of "American National Book News" which was to "keep patriots informed of right wing activities." The publication was later enlarged and its name changed to "Action." He ran unsuccessfully for City Council of Wilkes-Barre as an independent States' Rights Republican in 1960 and served in 1960-61 as Pennsylvania organizer for NSRP. (The Thunderbolt, April 1962) At some time before 1961 he was also a ranking member in Rockwell's American Nazi Party, but by March 1961 he had left the Party and was writing exposes of Rockwell, including "Swastika Smearbund." (FYI, March and Oct. 1961) His educational background includes courses in journalism and law at Florida State, the U. S. Air Force Institute, and LaSalle Extension, University of Chicago; and a Doctor of Divinity Degree, 1961 from the Church of God. The July 1961 issue of The Thunderbolt contains a cryptic notice disassociating Warner, his

bookstore, and the newspaper from NSRP, but the rift was evidently closed less than a year later, in April, 1962 when Warner became Associate Editor of The Thunderbolt, moved to Birmingham and has become one of the most active party leaders. His latest writing, The Real Hate Mongers, an "expose" of the Anti-Defamation League, is currently being offered by NSRP at $.50.

Rev. Gordon Winrod, Little Rock, Arkansas

National Chaplain, Feb.-Sept., 1962.
Winrod, son of the late well known anti-Semite, Gerald Winrod, graduated from Concordia Theological Seminary (Missouri Synod) in 1955 and was pastor of Lutheran churches in San Antonio and Houston, Texas, and Little Rock, Arkansas. After being forced out of the First Lutheran Church in Little Rock for openly anti-Jewish sermons, he founded an independent St. Paul's Lutheran Church, P.O. Box, 1322, Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1961 he launched a nationwide anti-Semitic campaign, addressing meetings in Michigan, Alabama, Missouri, and Texas, including NSRP rallies in Montgomery and Detroit. He publishes a monthly newspaper, The Winrod Letter. Appointed National Chaplain at NSRP in Feb., 1962 (The Thunderbolt, Feb., 1962), he resigned the following September to start "The Winrod Hour," a weekly radio broadcast from Station XEG, Monterrey, Mexico. (FYI, Nov., 1962)

Appendix B

NSRP units and individual members, supporters and sympathizers by state

ALABAMA

Birmingham

National Headquarters since 1960
1865 Bessemer Road P. O. Box 793

Montgomery

Vick Ashurst, Chairman (Thunderbolt, July 1961)
James Chester Robinson, Chairman (Thunderbolt, Jan., 1963; Chicago Sun-Times 9/9/63)
Unit meetings held every monday night at Chester's Restaurant, 3500 Mobile Highway (Thunderbolt, April 1962)
Meetings entertained by Harmony Boys Quartet: G. E. (Red) Cannon, James Craft, Lee McHee and Dennis Pouncey (Thunderbolt, April 1962)
Site of School of Racial Studies and Leadership Training (Thunderbolt, Aug. 1962)
Site of 1962 Convention (FYI, Oct. 1962)

Central Alabama Headquarters, Highway 231 between Montgomery and Tetumpka (Birmingham News, 6/6/63)

Adams, Kenneth L. (Thunderbolt 11/61)
Allen, George E. (FYI 9/60)
Allen, Wallace H. (Facts, 10-11/58; FYI 11/58)
Bailey, H. N. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Bartee, Annette M. (FYI, 9/60)
Bartee, Lodwick H. (FYI, 9/60)
Bassell, Oscar W. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Blanton, T. E., Sr. (Birmingham Daily Bulletin, 6/9/63)
Blasingame, William (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Brown, Rev. R. E. (Thunderbolt 1/63)
Cagle, Charles (FYI 10/63)
Carroack, Barney (Washington Evening Star, 9/24/63)
Carver, Ddie (sic) D. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Cash, Jack (Washington Post 9/24/63)
Chappell, William (Thunderbolt, 11/61)
Crommelin, Adm. John C. (throughout)
Crowder, Lee J. (FYI Sept., 1960)
Culpepper, Curtis R. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Culpepper, Floyd (Thunderbolt prob. 7/63)
DuLee, Thurman (FYI 9/60)
Delenne, Hugh (Personal Newsletter 10/63)
DeShazo, Albert (Birmingham Daily Bul, 8/2/63)
Dutton, Jerry (throughout)
Eason, Jerry (Thunderbolt 11/61)
England, B. C. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Evans, Mrs. Lela (FYI 9/60)
Garrett, Willie Bassell (FYI 9/60)
Howard, H. L. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Hudgins, Paul M. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Hudson, Howard (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Johnson, Frank (Thunderbolt, 11/61)
Knowles, John Douglas (FYI 9/60)
Lawson, Mrs. Gussie H., contributor '63
Lewandowski, Ralph (Washington Evening Star 9/24/63)
Lyons, Robert (throughout)
Mime, Paul, E. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Moncrief, H. N. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Moncrief, R. L. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Murray, James O. (Throughout)
Ridout, Carl (Personal Newsletter 10/63)
Rudd, Sanford D. (FYI 9/60)
Stanley, David (FYI 9/63)
Thompson, Geneva, contributor, 1963
Tolbert, Frank (Thunderbolt 11/61)
Tomlinson, Jack Andrew (FYI 9/60)
Wager, C. B. (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Webb, Mr. (Crimson and White, 3/28/63)
Willingham, Jerry (Thunderbolt, 11/61)
Wilson, Ernest (FYI 9/60)

ARKANSAS

Little Rock

E. L. Bishop, State Chairman
Emmett Miller, Vice Chairman
Mrs. Barden, Secretary (Thunderbolt, May 1962)

Former Officers: Theodore C. Baldwin, Secretary-Treasurer
Mr. Pat R. Crawford, Chairman (Arkansas Gazette, 4/15/62)
Arkansas NSRP Newsletter, Mrs. Ann Bishop, Editor

West Memphis, Arkansas (and Memphis, Tenn.)

Officers: Frank Whiteman
Emmett Miller
(Thunderbolt, May 1962)

NSRP permanently represented on the Ark. ballot since 1960.

Grable, Jack (Arkansas Gazette, 4/15/62)
Winrod, Rev. Gordon (throughout)

CALIFORNIA

Santa Ana

Box 641 (Supplement to 4th Edition, First National Directory

James P. Thornton, Director
Rev. Conrad (Charles Conley?) Lynch, State Organizer (Thunderbolt Feb. 1963)
James Breiner, State Chaplain
Neuman R. Britton, Head of Security Division (12th Report, Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, June 12, 1963)
"Captain" Robert Lewton, Security Division Officer (Thunderbolt Feb. 1963)

Said to be the fastest growing unit (Thunderbolt, Feb. 1963)

Investigated by the California Factfinding Sub-Committee on Un-American Activities. (12th Report, June 12, 1963)

Newspaper: "The Attack" (Thunderbolt, Feb., 1963)

Britton, James (Senate Subcommittee Report, above)
Britten, Rufus (Senate Subcommittee Report, above)
Campbell, Bryan, contributor, 1963
Delano, Donald B. (Senate Subcommittee Report, above)
Eddy, T. Ronald, contributor 1963
Hitchins, Michael (Senate Subcommittee Report, above)
King, George L., Jr. (FYI 9/63)
Swift, Dr. Wesley J. (Senate Subcommittee Report, above)

COLORADO

James, Hon. Jesse L., III (Thunderbolt, Aug. 1962)

CONNECTICUT

Farrel, Franklin, Jr. contributor, 1963
Farrel, Miss Joan, contributor, 1963
Farrell, John, contributor, 1963
Wilder, Miss C. M., contributor, 1961

DELAWARE

John Warren Marshall, State Chairman
Middletown, Delaware

Mrs. Helen Gibasse, Secretary-Treasurer
Collins Park, Delaware
(Thunderbolt, 1/62)

NSRP represented on ballot in 1960 (FYI 10/60)

FLORIDA

St. Petersburg

Rev. Oren Fenton Potito, National Organizer (throughout)
Dewey M. Taft, State Chairman
"The Florida Patriot," Dewey Taft, Editor (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)

NSRP represented on the ballot in 1960 until Faubus withdrew his name (FYI 10/60)

Bass, Leon R., contributor, 1961, 1963
Black, R. R., contributor, 1963
Johnson, Daniel C., contributor, 1963
Perrow, Robert O. (Chicago Sun-Times, 9/9/63)
Steelberg, Mrs. H. E., contributor, 1963
Sullinger, F. W., contributor, 1963
Tompkins, Claude, contributor, 1963
Whitman, Lt. Col. Ervin Robert (Chicago Sun-Times, 9/9/63)
Zirestein, O. R., contributor, 1963

GEORGIA

Atlanta

525 Page Ave., N. E. (Supplement to 4th Edition, First National Directory)
Kenneth Chester Griffin, Chairman (Thunderbolt 10/58)

Dalton

Rev. Henry G. White, Chairman
807 Luckie St. P. O. Box 604

Mrs. Roxie Crisp, Secretary-Treasurer (Thunderbolt 4/62)

Bowling, Richard (throughout)
Bowling, Robert A. (throughout)
Branham, Billy Roy (Facts 2-3/59)
Bright, George Michael (throughout)
Burke, Emory (member only temporarily)
Corley, Luther K. (FYI 8/58)
Jones, H. E. (Thunderbolt 1/63)
Willhoite, Carl J., contributor, 1963
Wilson, Phillip Luther (FYI 8/58)

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Box 1785

Mike Landis, State Chairman (Thunderbolt, 3/64)
Walter Denman, Chairman
Charles Layman, Secretary-Treasurer
Robert L. Taylor, Youth Leader
Mr. Murray, Sergeant-at-Arms (Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)
Maynard O. (Max) Nelson, Chairman (Thunderbolt 4/62)
Don Hensley, Chairman
F. Allen Mann, Chairman (Thunderbolt 10/58)

Hinsdale
(FYI 11/58)

Beauharnais, Joe (FYI 12/58)
Lloyd, Mrs. Violet (Thunderbolt 3/64)

INDIANA

Jeffersonville

First NSRP headquarters
P. O. Box 261
(Facts 10-11/58)

Edna (Mrs. Peter) Cowan, Chairman and Organizer (Facts 10-11/58)

KENTUCKY

Louisville
(FYI 11/58)

Site of first "closed convention" (Denver Post 12/4/58)

Mrs. Delores Fields, State Chairman (Thunderbolt 10/58)

Feltman, Mrs. V. J., contributor, 1961
Grubbs, Millard D. (throughout)
Morris, Miss Bessie T. (FYI 8/58)
Perry, Mrs. Nell, contributor, 1963

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

P. O. Box 4342 (The Thunderbolt 7/61)

Mr. Hennessey, State Chairman
Randy Trudeau, Secretary
Leonard Butler, leader of the Blue Shirts of Louisiana (Militant Honor Guard)
(The Thunderbolt, 4/62)

"NSRP of Louisiana Bulletin"
5926 Palton St.
(Supplement to the 4th Edition, First National Directory

Site of 1961 Convention (The Thunderbolt, 7/61)

Hill, Mrs. E. A. (The Thunderbolt, 4/62)
Liddell, V. W., contributor, 1963

MARYLAND

Damascus
P. O. Box 27 (The Thunderbolt, 1/62)

MASSACHUSSETTS

Guardaboesis, "Countess" P., contributor, 1963

MICHIGAN

Westgate, Mrs. Bertha, contributor, 1963

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis (FYI 11/58)

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Box 9, Normandy P. O. (The Thunderbolt, 4/62)
4475 Olive St. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 10/22/63)

Allen (Alan?) O. Kern, State Chmn. (The Thunderbolt, 4/62)
Publish state newsletter (The Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)

Schwinke, Arthur C. (The Thunderbolt, 4/62)

MONTANA

Polson

P. O. Box 1370, District Office
P. O. Box 1447
Michael W. Cameron, State Organizer (letter, 8/21/63)
"The Montana Conservative"

NEW MEXICO

Farmington

Rev. David K. Stacey, Organizer
808 W. Animus St. (The Thunderbolt, 5/62)

NEW YORK

New York City
William H. Hoff, Jr., Area Director
P. O. Box 1243, GPO, Brooklyn, N. Y.
(FYI, 3/63)
"The Storm", Dominic Russo, Editor, (The Thunderbolt, 8/62)

Kurts (Kurtz), J. Dan (FYI, 12/58)
Quinn, Miss A. A., contributor, 1963

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte (FYI, 11/58)

Joe C. Bryant, Chairman (The Thunderbolt, 10/58)

OHIO

Dayton

P. O. Box 42, Walnut St. Sta. (The Thunderbolt, 5/62)
R. D. Eltridge, State Chmn., (The Thunderbolt, 8/63)
Irving Thacker, St. Chmn., (The Thunderbolt, 5/62)
"Ohio Newsletter", Irving Thacker, Editor (The Thunderbolt, prob. 7/63)

Cincinnati

P. O. Box 20062 (Throwaway distributed at Birch Society-sponsored Wallace program, 2/11/64)

Xavier, Peter (throughout)

OKLAHOMA

Unit working successfully in Kennedy Impeachment campaign (The Thunderbolt, 4/62)

Jones, Mrs. Lela M., contributor, 1963

OREGON

Portland (FYI, 11/58)
Rev. Dale J. Benjamin, Chairman (The Thunderbolt, 11/58)

PENNSYLVANIA

James K. Warner, State Organizer, (The Thunderbolt, 4/62)
Frankhouser, Roy (throughout)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Greenville (FYI, 11/58)

Bagwell, James (Facts 10-11/58)

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga

Site of 1960 Convention (FYI 12/60)

Knoxville (FYI, 11/58)

Site of meeting, April 11-12, 1958 (FYI, 5/59)
Ned Dupos, National Chairman
Bernice Settle, National Secretary
(letterhead, 4/5/62; N. Y. Times, 9/6/63)

LaFollette

Arthur Cole, First National Chairman (Cook, supra, p. 168-9)

Memphis (and West Memphis, Ark.)

Frank Whisman, unit leader
Emmett Miller, unit leader
(The Thunderbolt, 5/62)

Foster, Lee (FYI, 11/59)

TEXAS

Garland

Jimmy Robinson (Dallas Times-Herald 1/4/63, and throughout)

urgent re JFK assn. in Dallas

Waco

E. E. Williams
1207 Clay Ave.
(letter 5/9/62 from Williams)

Darby, R. T., contributor, 1963
Sutherland, W. D., contributor, 1963
Thomas, Mrs. Louise, contributor, 1963

VERMONT

Bates, Mrs. D. B., contributor, 1963

VIRGINIA

Front Royal

NSRP of Virginia
426 Virginia Ave.

Briley Morrison (The Thunderbolt, 4/62)

Stephenson, William (throughout)

WASHINGTON

C. M. Baxter, State Chairman (The Thunderbolt, 10/63)

Seattle (FYI, 11/58)

Roinsch, Henry, contributor, 1963

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee
P. O. Box 2493 (The Thunderbolt, 7/61 and 5/62)
H. E. Keopfle, leader (The Thunderbolt, 5/62)
Matt Koehl, First National Organizer, then Security Officer (throughout)

Sec 3 - PUB
2/11/63

NEWS AND VIEWS
422 North Prospect Street, Wheaton, Illinois

Editor: Edgar C. Bundy (Sec 2 - IND)

Publisher: Church League of America (Sec 1 - ORG)

Circulation: Unknown—a 4-6 page printed newsletter published monthly and sent to all contributors of $5 or more annually to the Church League; began publication in 1937.

Purpose: As listed by an undated brochure of about 1959-60, the publication is a "reporting service for those who support the Church League work—and also to serve itself as a source of income for that program. . . . /It/ furnishes its readers with a good running picture of the radical movement—and how it functions." News and Views is also said to enable "our sponsors to get their money's worth in actual value for all they contribute to the Church League program and gives them an ideal chance to keep their own key employees informed", it "has the value also of keeping out sponsors cognizant of what we are doing", and it "has the further effect of letting everybody know that we know our subject."

Contents: Each issue generally deals with a single subject, but sometimes a subject is divided between two or three consecutive issues. The most popular category of subjects seems to be "leftism" in various church denominations (with issues titled "What Is Troubling the Episcopalians", "What Is Troubling the Baptists" and so on). Other titles have included "Spawning Ground for Communism" (February, 1957 — an attack on Union Theological Seminary), "The Juggernaut Rolls On" (September, 1958 — on the National Council of Churches), "Left-Wing Bias in the Religious Press" (March, 1959), "Abusing the Girl Scouts" (November, 1960), and "A Close Look at the American Civil Liberties Union" (July, 1961).

Sample Quotations:

—"At the present time and continuing through June, 1960, the Soviet Union is and will be racking up one of its greatest propaganda victories in years. It is being achieved through . . . the insistence of the National Council /of Churches/ to continue to espouse the red propaganda line even though it has been disavowed and rejected by the vast majority of Protestant clergymen and churches." (Herbert Philbrick in February, 1960 issue)

—"Many of the Reverend Cronin's arguments . . . sound like political statements of the present Administration in Washington. In fact, one is almost led to believe that the present Attorney-General of the United States has been Mr. Cronin's source of information, or the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action. . . . If the Reverend Cronin would spend his time writing booklets on the total depravity of man /and related subjects/ . . . then he wouldn't have time to write the nonsensical things

which he has written in this 80-page booklet. . . . " (April, 1962 issue attacking Communism: Threat to Freedom by Fr. John F. Cronin, Assistant Director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference and an advisor to Richard Nixon during the 1960 Presidential campaign)

—"There certainly has never been a Communist or Communist sympathizer in the Presidency of the United States, but a U. S. Supreme Court justice who in a span of twenty years upheld the Communist position or an anti-security position 102 times in 102 decisions might just as well be a Communist because even a sympathizer presumably might have slipped once or twice and voted the other way. " (September, 1962)

—"Naturally, this /the rise of "conservative or anti-Communist organizations"/ dismays and alarms the Communists, the radicals, the secret pro-Communist sympathizers, the anti-anti-Communists, the eggheads and fuzz-brains, and finally the decadents. . . . Many Americans today cannot understand why State Department quarterbacks, who fumble nearly every ball and toss nice long forward passes right into the waiting arms of Khrushchev, are not summarily called off the field and replaced by someone who at least seems to have some slight understanding of what the game is all about." (Karl Baarslag in the January, 1963 issue)

(replaces NOBLE page dated 3/11/63)

Received 4-14-66

Sec 2 - IND
3/8/66

NOBLE, JOHN HELLMUTH
Muncy, Pennsylvania

A former prisoner of the Communists (in East Germany and then in Soviet Russia), he has been active as a lecturer and writer, as well as head of his own "Faith and Freedom Forum."

Author of I Was a Slave in Russia (N.Y., Devin-Adair, 1958), and (with Glenn D. Everett), I Found God in Soviet Russia (N.Y., St. Martin's Press, 1959); both subsequently reprinted by Cicero Bible Press, Broadview, Ill.

Biographical Background

John Noble was born in Detroit in September, 1923, three years after his parents had emigrated from Germany. In the late 1930's John's father, Charles Noble, returned to Germany -- "on medical advice to take a cure," he explained after the war. (N.Y. Times 8/20/52) John Noble tends to give the impression that the family presence in Germany at the outbreak of war was accidental, via: "Having accompanied dad on one of his trips to Germany, we were trapped by World War II and locally interned in Dresden by Hitler's forces throughout the war." (United Evangelical Action, September, 1959) In fact, his father had purchased the KW-Praktiflex camera factory in Dresden in 1937 (from an owner forced to sell by the anti-Semitic laws of the Nazis, Charles Noble has conceded -- N. Y. Times 8/21/52), and the following year brought his family over to join him.

While the Nobles say they were not allowed by the Germans to leave Dresden, they were allowed to continue living in their home overlooking the city and to operate the camera factory throughout the war. It appears that John trained as an efficiency expert and assisted his father in the management of the factory. (See U.S. News and World Report 1/21/55) This may account for his being arrested with his father by the Russians in July, 1945, some two months after they occupied Dresden. At any rate, though Charles Noble told reporters after his release that "he thought the Russians suspected he was a United States spy" (N.Y. Times 8/20/52); the formal charge against him was evidently that of "being a monopoly capitalist and a member of the ring of industrialists who had supported Hitler." (I Found God, p. 92) John says that he was never told what charges had been made against him.

Both father and son were held in East Germany from mid-1945 until 1950, when they were separated. Charles Noble continued to be held in East Germany until his release in August, 1952. John, however, was sent to the Soviet Union in the Fall of 1950, to the complex at Vorkuta, a mining community just inside the Arctic Circle at the north end of the Ural Mountains. John's mother and a brother were held under house arrest for the last half of 1945 and then allowed to proceed to Berlin where they initiated efforts by the U. S. government to secure the release of both Charles and John. As noted, Charles was released in mid-1952, but the Soviet authorities never even admitted that they held John until they announced his release in January, 1955.

After Charles Noble's release in 1952, he had returned to Detroit, and John rejoined his family there in 1955. He subsequently married the former Ruth Hedstrom and until late 1964, made his home in Wheaton, Ill., in which is located the headquarters of the National Association of Evangelicals and the editorial offices of its magazine, United Evangelical Action (see reference below). More recently, Noble has changed his residence to Muncy, Pennsylvania.

Telling His Story

John Noble's activities since his release have centered around the telling of his story -- in writing, in speeches, and even on records. It was the basis also for a television program in the "Armstrong Circle Theatre" series. The major written versions have been as follows:

North American Newspaper Alliance series, prepared "in collaboration with Martin L. Gross." These appeared in April, 1955. (N.Y. Times 4/3-7/55, for example)

"I Cheated Russia's White Death," True, November, 1955 (also with Martin L. Gross).

"I Was a Slave Laborer in the Soviet Union," Reader's Digest, February, 1956 (said to be a condensation of Slave 1E-241, to be published by Devin-Adair, and to be based on the preceding True article).

I Was a Slave in Russia, published by Devin-Adair in 1958. (In addition to the name change and delay in publication, there was a change in "ghost writers;" and Karl Hess, then a Contributing Editor of American Mercury, has since said that he "put together John Noble's first book," according to a letter of 10/21/60, See Sec 2 - IND for Hess.)

I Found God in Soviet Russia, published by St. Martin's Press in 1959, and co-authored by Glenn D. Everett, a Washington reporter for the Religious News Service syndicate.

In addition to these, Noble had a regular column in United Evangelical Action, the magazine of the National Association of Evangelicals, from September, 1959, through mid-1962. For the first year it was called, "John Noble - Slave 1E241 - Answers your Questions About Communism;" beginning with the issue of November, 1960, it was a joint column, with American ex-Communist Ron Arnold, retaining the question-and-answer format and called "The Truth About Communism." Noble was on the masthead of Action as a Contributing Editor from October, 1959, through March, 1963.

Paralleling his writings has been a very active speaking career. In early 1957, for example, he spoke at the Conference on Spiritual Foundations held that year by FRASCO -- the Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order, headed by Dr. Charles Wesley Lowry. (March, 1957 program) The following year he

was featured at the rally inaugurating the Constitution Day convention of We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG) In 1959 he made a repeat appearance for We, The People! and also appeared for the National Education Program of Harding College -- speaking in January, 1959 at a Freedom Forum in Okla. City, and in March, at a special assembly at Harding College itself. (Text published as "Back From the Dead," by National Education Program -- see Sec 4 - Special Report #14.)

In 1959 Noble also spoke at the convention of the National Association of Evangelicals, an appearance which led not only to his column in their magazine, but to regular speaking tours under the auspices of the Association. That he also continued to appear on more blatantly right-wing platforms is evidenced by his 1960 address to the Congress of Freedom. (April, 1960 program; Greater Nebraskan, May, 1960) One of his appearances in 1961 secured him a medal in the Public Address category from Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. (Listing of 2/22/62, summarized as: "The entire nation seems to be willing to give up God-given freedoms for promises of man-made security from womb to tomb.")

Though no complete tabulation of Noble appearances is possible, one of his sponsors wrote in 1963 that: "Last year Mr. Noble lectured over 900 times before large audiences and in very influential places." (9/6/63 letter from Audio Bible Society)

A leading sponsor of Noble appearances in recent years has been the Farm Bureau, or at least many of its state units. Thus, Noble has been a regular feature of "citizenship seminars" and "freedom forums" sponsored or co-sponsored by Farm Bureau units in the following states during the last few years: Kansas (see Kansas Farm Bureau News, November, 1962, October, 1963, September, 1964, and July-August, 1965); Minnesota (Minnesota Farm Bureau News, September, 1965); Missouri (Missouri Farm Bureau News, December, 1962, June, 1964, and May, 1965); North Dakota (North Dakota Farm Bureau News, October, 1962, June, 1963, June, 1964, and July, 1965); Oklahoma (Oklahoma Farm Bureau Farmer, 4/7/61, 6/7/63, and Hobart Democrat-Chief, 3/10/65); and Texas (Texas Agriculture, July, 1964, and Texas Observer 6/23/63).

As noted earlier, Noble's story is also available on record. The Audio Bible Society of America, Inc., which has also sponsored speaking appearances for Noble, produced and distributed four long-playing records by him -- one titled "The John Noble Story" and a set of three titled "Life in the Soviet Union." (1963 brochure) Noble has reportedly "asserted that his phonograph record is used on nearly every ship of the United States Navy." The Navy Department, however, denies that any of Noble's material "has been or is being distributed in the Navy." (Focus/Midwest, Vol. III, Nos. 10 & 11)

In addition to the books and recordings, Noble's story is available in the form of a series of 13 video-tapes for use on television. Titled "I was a Communist Slave," the series is suggested for sponsorship by "banks, savings and loan associations, manufacturers, and conservative-minded businessmen." (Undated brochure from American Diversified Services, Kingsport, Tenn. The series is plugged as the "hottest TV series since 'I Led Three Lives.'")

Noble also appears on at least one of the programs in the recorded radio series, "Dangers of Apathy," distributed by the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation. (December, 1964 listing -- see Sec 1 - ORG)

For a number of years, Noble has operated -- first, in Wheaton, Ill., and now in Muncy -- a "Faith and Freedom Forum . . . organized specifically to inform the American people of the dangers imposed upon them by Godless Communism, and of the attempt by the Communist Party to inject its philosophy and practices upon our nation." (Undated brochure) In addition to Noble's own books and records, the Forum sold other right-wing materials as well. This led to a controversy when a newspaper charged that the Forum had promoted and sold John Beaty's Iron Curtain Over America, "described by Anti-Defamation League leaders as a 'viciously anti-Semitic book.'" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 6/14/64) Noble's reply was that a small number of copies of the Beaty book were obtained in a large order of various titles and that only one copy was ever sold. (Ibid., 6/25/64 and St. Louis Globe-Democrat, 6/25/64. The initial story had quoted a Wheaton resident to the effect that the Beaty book had been "prominently displayed" in the Forum's window.)

Noble was recently scheduled to appear as the featured speaker at a fund-raising dinner for Gerda Koch, of Christian Research, Inc. (Sec 1 - ORG). Miss Koch is appealing a $20,000 libel judgement secured against her by Prof. Arnold Rose of the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis Tribune 2/5/66)

Credibility - The "5,000 Prisoners"

John Noble's reliability as a reporter is brought into question by an evident tendency to add to and change his story, to exaggerate and/or distort. A major example is his frequent charge now that there are large numbers of Americans still being held by the Communists. At the time of his release, he conceded that he had personal knowledge of only three other Americans being held in Russia at that time, but said he had heard of others -- notably eight fliers reportedly shot down over the Baltic and "American GI's and officers" reportedly taken prisoner in Korea. (See U.S. News and World Report 1/21/55 and N.Y. Times 4/5/55)

By 1959, however, he was telling an audience at Harding College in Arkansas, that: "At the time we were taken by the Soviets in Dresden, they took approximately 3,000 other American citizens." ("Return From the Dead," p. 4. Presumably, Noble didn't mean to imply that that many Americans were arrested in Dresden, but that this was the total taken in the occupation of Eastern Europe.)

Two years later he was writing: ". . . there are about five thousand American citizens being held by the Soviets according to State Department figures published in 1954." (United Evangelical Action, March, 1961). He has since added the claim that the State Department asked him not to divulge this fact. (See Focus/Midwest, loc. cit.) The State Department flatly denies any such request and also denies having released the figures cited, though it did prepare -- in late 1951 -- an esti-

mate of 5,000 as the number of persons in Soviet bloc countries "who might possibly have claim to American citizenship . . . . The Department did not state or imply that these persons were being held in prison."

The Department's statement concludes, relative to Noble: "Despite the fact that he is probably aware of the Department's disavowal of his allegations, he continues to tell his audiences that 5,000 Americans are held prisoner in the Soviet Union." (March, 1965 Statement, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State.)

Credibility - Variations in His Story

Noble's credibility is further weakened by the variations both on matters of substance and detail that can be seen in the various versions of his story and between his version and that of a German doctor who was also in Vorkuta during much of the same period. (Joseph Scholmer was at Vorkuta from early 1950 until the end of 1953, though at a different camp from Noble and apparently unaware of Noble's presence. Scholmer's book on his experiences was published in 1954 and an American edition appeared the following year -- Vorkuta, Henry Holt, 1955.)

The following are some of the more clear-cut examples of changes in the various Noble re-tellings of his story.

--Relative to a 12-day period at Dresden prison when the inmates received no food, Noble writes in the newspaper series, "More than half the prisoners died during this ordeal, and many others lost their sanity." (N.Y. Times 4/3/55) In I Was a Slave, the death rate is increased rather notably: "Some seven hundred prisoners had entered that starvation period. I was one of twenty-two or twenty-three that survived . . . ." (p. 21; see also speech at Harding; I Found God, p. 45 returns to "over half.")

-- In the newspaper series, Noble says of his trip from East Germany to Russia (on the cramped shelf of a "Stolypin prison car"): "I ate and slept in this fantastic position for four weeks . . . ." (N.Y. Times 4/4/55) In I Was a Slave the trip has been lengthened: "We stayed on those shelves for six weeks . . . ." (p. 71. Scholmer's description of the prison car differs somewhat from Noble's and he contends that those who were on a shelf had "a considerable advantage." Vorkuta, p. 45)

-- In the newspaper series, Noble wrote that, "In all there are approximately 20,000,000 slaves like myself in the Soviet Union." (N.Y. Times 4/4/55) The following year, however, he told a Senate Subcommittee that he and some Ukrainians at Vorkuta had worked out an estimate of the grand total as being between 25 and 28 million. (4/27/56 Hearings, Senate Labor Committee, p. 221; see also I Was a Slave, pp. 119-120)

-- In I Was a Slave, Noble makes it clear that a work-stoppage by a substantial portion of the prisoners at Vorkuta lasted from July 21 to August 5, 1953. (pp. 143-61) In his 1959 speech at Harding he claims that "The strike, or uprising, was successful for approximately six weeks." (p. 17)

-- In describing the shooting at Camp 29 which was instrumental in breaking the strike, Noble says, in I Was a Slave, "One hundred and ten had been killed instantly. More than five hundred were seriously wounded." (p. 160; N.Y. Times 4/7/55 has same figures) In I Found God, he charges that the Russians "killed more than 1,000 men before the strike was broken." (p. 176. Scholmer, who says he talked to the surgeon -- a fellow prisoner -- who treated the wounded, gives the figures of 64 killed on the spot and about 200 more seriously wounded. Vorkuta, pp. 258-60) Similarly, the number of troops utilized in the suppression of the strike increases in the Noble versions from "800 heavily armed M. V. D. and army troops especially brought in from Moscow" in his newspaper series (N.Y. Times 4/7/55) to "two divisions of armed forces" in his 1959 speech at Harding. (p. 18)

-- Noble makes much, in all versions, of a charge that the suppression of the strike was personally directed by Gen. Maslennikov, Deputy minister of Internal Affairs. (I Was a Slave, p. 160, for example) Scholmer, however, says that Maslennikov came only as the head of a Commission of Inquiry which worked about 8 days and had returned to Moscow before the shooting at Camp 29. (Vorkuta, pp. 258-60)

-- Though completely unmentioned in previous versions, I Was a Slave adds the claim that while Noble was at Poima he saw the arrival of "an elderly woman . . . who was very much in the eyes of the guards. She was 'Madame Gorskaja,' the first wife of the new Soviet boss, Nikita Khrushchev. She said virtually nothing about him or about their life together." (pp. 170-1.) /This would have been the end of 1954, at which time Khrushchev -- while 1st Secretary of the Party -- was only one member of a group that had succeeded Stalin; he was to emerge as the leading member of the group in the succeeding years, especially during the summer of 1957, and to become Premier as well as 1st Secretary in March, 1958./ Noble has since expanded on this episode still further, writing of Khrushchev in United Evangelical Action, November, 1959: "Back in 1918 his ambitions for world domination had been inflamed, the first Mrs. Khrushchev told me"; and telling his audience at Harding College of still another former wife "serving a 12-year sentence in Tadzhik. The one which you saw a short time ago . . . is his third or fourth or fifth wife." (p. 21) The U.S. Department of State says that the information available to it is that Khrushchev was married first in 1915; this wife died in the famine of 1921, and that he married his second and present wife in 1924. "There is no record either of his wives has served in prison." (Letter of 12/18/63)

--Reportage in the N.Y. Times and the last chapter of I Found God make it clear that, after his release, Noble flew to New York and thence to Detroit, where his family once again was living. In his 1959 speech at Harding, however, he claims that from Berlin "I was flown to Washington. While in Washington I spent two weeks briefing State Department officials on what I saw and heard, and spoke before the Foreign Relations Committee and to the House of Representatives." (p. 23. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee advises that it has no record of such an appearance and the Index to the Congressional Record for the 1955 session gives no indication of any appearance by Noble before the House.)

Other Quotes

In his speaking appearances and writings, Noble frequently goes beyond his personal experiences to discuss such things as Communism in general, international relations, the United Nations, and even domestic issues. Selected examples of such comments follow:

-- On Communism: "We talk a great deal about the Communist program springing from Karl Marx's ideologies. I believe the whole thing started in the Garden of Eden . . . . Satan's program has blossomed out with a new name -- communism." (Action, August, 1962)

-- On Coexistence: "God cannot approve our seeking coexistence with a nation determined to destroy belief in God." (Quoted in Minneapolis Tribune 10/30/63) ". . . we should not be deceived by apparent progress through negotiations. All actions and thinking of the Communists is governed by their ultimate goal of world conquest." (Action, November, 1961)

-- On Defeating Russian Communism: "I am convinced that if we break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, ban trade relations so that nothing comes in, nothing comes out of the Soviet Union, that Communism would have a lifetime of six months, no longer." ("Back From the Dead," p. 26)

-- On the United Nations: "The machinations of the United Nations -- with the United States as a leading figure -- to solve the world's problems may well have been described by the psalmist . . . 'Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing' . . . Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us." (Action, August, 1962)

-- On Sale of Wheat to Soviet Bloc: "The communist government doesn't want the people to have more food -- hunger causes the people to be submissive. Not one single kernel of the wheat will ever reach the starving peoples." (Quoted in Minneapolis Tribune 10/10/63)

-- On Welfare Programs: ". . . socialistic welfare programs are violating the Bible, which says if someone is in need it is the responsibility of the relatives or the church to take care of them -- never the government." (Ibid.)

-- On Education: "We must take a careful look at the suggestions for educational advancement and make sure they have tangible values for progress and are not merely clouds for glamorizing subversion." (Action, August, 1962)

-- On Report of De-Stalinization in Russia: "The only thing that has really changed is the propaganda methods. And the way the free world seems to accept every Russian statement at face value indicates that these changes have been very effective." (Action, January, 1961)

-- On Cuba: "We need to clean up Cuba before May 1 [1962]. If we don't, Jamaica, Tahiti and other countries that are getting their independence will go communist. As British troops move out, they will go communist." (Quoted in American Eagle, Portland, Ore., April, 1962)

-- On Comparison of Communists and Nazis: "As a prisoner of the Reds . . . I survived inhumanity and brutality which outranked anything Hitler ever dreamed of." (Action, June, 1961)

(replaces Parker page dated 5/14/62)

Sec 2 - IND
8/26/63

PARKER, COLA GODDEN

Menasha, Wis. (deceased 6/27/62)

Former head, Kimberly-Clark Corp.; was President (1948-49) of American Paper and Pulp Assoc.; former Chairman, National Industrial Conference Board; served on President Eisenhower's Foreign Economic Policy Commission, and in 1954 was on U. S delegation to GATT meeting in Geneva. (Who's Who, 1962-63 and N. Y. Times, vario issues)

Former President, National Association of Manufacturers -- appointed Director-at- la in 1952, elected President in 1955, named Executive Committee Chairman in 1957, nam Finance Committee Chairman in 1958, named NAM "Man of the Year" in 1959 (N. Y. Times, various issues) In his address as incoming NAM President, Parker said that the country had gone "completely overboard on security" and warned that "the ultimate in security is jail, the sale labor camp and the salt mine." Declaring that Marx had advocated a heavy income tax and free education as steps toward socialism, Parker cha that the U. S. is "well on the way to achievement of a Communist state as blueprinted by Marx." (N. Y. Times 12/9/55) The following year he attacked organized labor for "boldly attempting to seize political control of the United States" while businessmen, he said, "sit like rabbits, hypnotized by a snake, helpless to organize a program to defend the American political and economic system." (Ibid., 10/16/56)

Served for several years as one of the employer delegates of the United States to the Int national Labor Organization; he repeatedly led the fight against seating of employer delegation from the Soviet-bloc countries; as a delegate he abstained from voting for the draft convention banning forced labor, arguing that it was improper for an international agency to adopt conventions governing the relations between individual citizens and thei own governments and that support for the convention by delegates from the Communist-bloc countries was pure hypocrisy. (Ibid., 6/16/57, 6/22/57, 6/26/59 and 6/1/60)

Before his death, he was:

Member, National Council, John Birch Society (1962 brochure); he also was on the Editorial Advisory Committee of American Opinion (June, 1962 issue -- his name continued on the masthead through October of that year)

Member, Executive Committee, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (adv. N. Y. Times 8/30/59)

Member, National Advisory Board, Patriotic Education, Inc. (January, 1962 broch

Quotations: Parker's political philosophy is reflected in the following excerpts from hi 1956 speech as retiring NAM President (reprinted in part in U. S. News & World Repor 12/14/56) --

--"...in the phrase, 'promote the general welfare,' some people assume to read a man for the Federal Government to assure all citizens a certain standard of food, clothing a shelter from the cradle to the grave.... Unfortunately, the courts have tended to uphol

the broad interpretation of the 'general welfare' clause and have been blind to, or have deliberately turned away from the erosion of the liberty they also are sworn to protect."

--"The first, and possibly the most important, of these /architectural absurdities/ is our present system of taxing incomes at higher and higher rates as earnings go up. . . /The/ effect is not so much to 'soak the rich' as to prevent anyone from becoming rich. Because of the so-called progressive tax on our incomes, we are losing the incentive to progress as far as fast as our abilities will take us."

--"Personal freedom for the workingman and personal freedom for his employer are visibly shrinking as union leadership grows stronger and more arrogant and reaches out for more and more power."

--"This growing tendency to let Washington do it, to invite a federal agency to take over the troubles and responsibilities we should be handling at home, is one of the most insidio threats to our liberties."

PARKER, DR. THOMAS
Greenville, South Carolina

Born in 1909, Dr. Parker got his MD from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1934 and has been in general practice since 1937. (American Medical Directory, 1963) He has served at least three terms on the Greenville City Council. (American Progress magazine, May-June, 1962)

Dr. Parker has had an important role in several radical-right groups, as listed below. (See Sec 1 - ORG for fact-sheets on virtually all of these.)

Member, National Council, John Birch Society. (JBS Bulletin, Jan., 1965) Parke has been listed on the Society's Committee of Endorsers since at least 1961. (Se list inserted in Congressional Record, 3/22/61)

Trustee, Americans for Constitutional Action. (ACA release of 10/22/64) Parke was listed as a "local supporter and fund raiser" as early as ACA's 1960 "Report to !Stockholders'" and has been listed as contributing the following amounts in reports filed with the Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives: $250 in 1960, $1,161 in 1962, and $6,493 in 1964 (including amounts listed in the names of his wife and two daughters) -- total, 1960-64: $7,904; plus a $2,500 loan in 1962.

President, Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. (July, 1964 letterhead) As early as 1958 Parker was a Director of AAPS (see letterhead), and for a number of years he served as National Chairman of the AAPS Essay Contest (on the topic, "Human Freedom versus Socialism").

State Chairman, Liberty Amendment Committee of the USA. (Freedom magazine January-February, 1965) Parker was a Director of the American Progress Foundation from 1954 until its merger with ORFIT. When Willis Stone organized the National Committee for Economic Freedom, in 1958, Parker became a state chairman and he has continued to serve in that role (the organization's name was changed to Liberty Amendment Committee in 1963). South Carolina became the sixth state to endorse the "Liberty Amendment" in March, 1962. Parker's report on the successful campaign was a feature of a 1962 "T" Party in Los Angeles (American Progress, November-December, 1962), and has since been made available on tape (see, for example, listing of materials in Freedom magazine, January-February, 1964).

Member, Wake Up America Committee of We, The People!. (Free Enterprise, April, 1965) The Wake Up America Committee sponsors the back page of Free Enterprise, We, The People!'s monthly newspaper. Parker has been listed at least since 1960. In addition, he was on the old National Advisory Board of We, The People! (listings of at least 1958 thru 1962); appeared on panels at WTP' 1957 and 1961 meetings (1957 program and Free Enterprise, October, 1961); and was listed in 1959 and 1960 as a "Patron" sponsoring "Student Attendance" at the WTP conventions (programs). His activity at the local level, in WTP's home study group program (Strategic Action Councils), is indicated in a letter to Free Enterprise, August, 1960.

Other Organizational Ties:

Endorser, Manion Forum (Listings of October, 1957 through September, 1964)

Sponsor, 1962 Rally, Young Americans for Freedom (New Guard, March, 1962)

Member, College Graduates for Loyalty to the Constitution of the United States (1962 memo), and signer of its 3/21/62 letter to Congress urging retention of the loyalty oath provisions of the National Defense Education Act. College Graduates was initially called College Graduates Against Educating Traitors at Government Expense, and was admitted to be a "front" of the John Birch Society. (See JBS Bulletin, January, 1960, p. 9; and 9/29/62 memo from College Graduates chairman, H. C. Bailey, of Hartford, Conn.)

Formerly Trustee, International Services of Information Foundation, Inc., which published INform (issues of 7/14/61 thru 10/30/62; the Foundation has since been dissolved - letter of 8/2/63)

Viewpoint: The basically anti-government attitude reflected in Dr. Parker's organizational affiliations is also evident in his article, "Providing for the Needs of the Aged," which appeared in American Progress, May-June, 1962. Compressed to bare essentials, his message ran: "Whenever the Federal Government starts talking about helping the aged, it assumes that their major need is financial. This is not necessarily so. * * * Some old people do need money and so do some young people. There are ample statistics, however, to show that whereas old people may have less earned income in the form of wages in their later years, they have other income as a result of their savings; they also have decreased expenditures, because they no longer need many things which are considered necessary by those engaged in the active pursuit of business. What they do need is to be considered as individuals with personal dignity and worth, and not as faceless numbers to be isolated from the rest of society. In short, they need love. It is impossible for a government to give love, because a government is an organization and love is a human attribute . . . . We must realize, therefore, that we cannot expect our government to do what a government by its very nature cannot do. * * * If we as individuals deny our faith and depend upon our government instead of our God, we can expect the fate of ancient Rome, which perished in the quicksands of materialism, personal greed, and civic apathy."

PAYNE, JESSICA (MRS. E. WYATT)
Huntington, West Virginia

Owner and director of a private school in Huntington. Mrs. Payne also lists herself as a "lecturer and writer." A former member of the West Virginia House of Delegates, she made an unsuccessful bid for the Republican nomination to oppose U. S. Representative Ken Hechler in 1960. She has been active as a clubwoman and in the Americanism work of the American Legion Auxiliary. Her activities in right-wing circles date back at least to the early 1950's when she served as a Vice-President of Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education. (Undated brochure and Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, Cross-Currents, Doubleday, 1956, p. 55) She attended the October, 1952 Chicago meeting from which developed the Constitution Party. (Cross-Currents, p. 55) Her major organizational affiliations follow:

Member, Board of Directors, Congress of Freedom. (See Summit, Miss. Sun 4/18/63) Mrs. Payne has been a prominent figure in the Congress of Freedom since at least the mid-1950's. She was a speaker at the 1955 meeting and many subsequent ones, and has been on the Board since 1958. She served as Secretary from 1959 until last year. (A report on her speech at the 1955 meeting quotes her as charging the United Nations with being "unconstitutional, un-American, and un-Christian" and declaring "There is too much treason in the United States. Cross-Currents, p. 166)

Member, National Advisory Board, Christian Crusade (see Sec 4 - Special Report #11). Associated with the Hargis group since at least 1961, Mrs. Payne was a speaker at the February, 1963 Anti-Communist Leadership School in Tulsa. (Christian Crusade, May, 1963)

Regional Vice-President (Atlantic States), We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG) A speaker at their 1957 convention, she has been a Vice-President since at least 1958. (1958 brochure and 1963 program)

Formerly a State Chairman of the National Committee for Economic Freedom (Sec 1 - ORG) and of its successor group, the Liberty Amendment Committee. Mrs. Payne was listed as a delegate to the 1963 conference of this organization, to repeal income taxes, but is not listed as a state leader in the most recent issu of their publication. (Freedom Magazine, Nov.-Dec., 1963 and Jan.-Feb., 1964 she had been listed previously, at least as early as Spring, 1961.)

Attended at least one Human Events Political Action Conference (see her laudatory comment quoted in Human Events 1/20/62).

Listed as speaker on program of 1963 seminar of American Coalition of Patriotic Societies. (Sec 1 - ORG)

PAVEY, DR. CHARLES W.
Columbus, Ohio

Past President, Association of American Physicians and Surgeons (N. Y. Post, 5/26/61); member, Board of Directors (AAPS folder on "Resolutions", 4/7/62); Chairman, Public Relations Committee (Newsletter 5/62)

Director-at-Large and member, National Advisory Board of We, The People! (1961 brochure)

Member, Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society; Field Coordinator and leader of the first Columbus, Ohio chapter (#224, founded May, 1960); praised by Robert Welch (Bulletin, July, 1960) for his leadership of the fast growing Birch movement in Columbus (20 chapters by May, 1961). (N. Y. Post, 5/26/61; ADL FACTS, 11-12/61; John Birch Society Brochure, 1/31/62)

Pavey's son at Ohio State University led campus conservatives and Columbus Birchers in an attack on assistant instructor Henry St. Onge, who had sponsored a program, held in his back yard, as a rebuttal to a campus showing of "Operation Abolition." Birch publicity led to St. Onge's dismissal from a teaching appointment at Wayne State College, Nebraska. (N. Y. Post, 5/26/61)

Co-chairman of the 9th Annual Congress of Freedom, Columbus, Ohio, April 6-10, 1962 (brochure)

Member, Wake Up America Committee (Free Enterprise, May, 1962)

State Chairman, National Committee for Economic Freedom (letterhead 9/18/62)

Proposed as a member of the 5-man Hearing Board of the Citizens' Hearings of We, The People!, scheduled for April 20, 1963, Chicago. The Board was to question "experts" on the Communist conspiracy. (Free Enterprise, April, 1963)

PERIODICALS ON THE RIGHT

In their pioneering study, The American Right Wing (a 1960 Report to the Fund for the Republic), Ralph Ellsworth and Sarah Harris comment that

> There are approximately a thousand voluntary organizations in the United States today which may be called rightist, and which regularly publish or distribute great quantities of right-wing literature . . . . The publications which these groups sponsor range all the way from the earnest, smudgily mimeographed Voice of the Hour . . . to the handsome quarterly Modern Age . . . .

Ellsworth and Harris then go on to characterize and quote from a wide variety of such publications, covering a broad spectrum of the right wing.

The present Report focuses primarily on the cirulation of right-wing periodicals, attempting to provide information on relative importance and on the pattern of growth. As in the Ellsworth and Harris study, a broad spectrum is represented, as well as a variety of formats. (While it was impossible to include data on the mimeographed Voice of the Hour, the quarterly, Modern Age is included.) In addition to variety, an effort was made to include as many as possible of the major periodicals on the current right-wing scene.

The primary source of data for this study has been the Form 3526 statements required for periodicals which have second-class postal status -- the annual ownership and circulation statement which must be filed with the Post Office Department and published each October. Included in these reports is the average paid circulation for the preceding twelve-month period, and it is this figure which has been used in the present study.

While this source provides data which are both reliable and comparable for a substantial number of publications, not all periodicals have second-class status and complete coverage has not been possible. For publications regarded as major or significant, an effort has been made to get a recent circulation figure from other sources (see Table 2). Among those for which circulation figures proved unavailable were: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade Newsletter (Dr. Fred Schwarz), Greater Nebraskan (Congress of Freedom), Heads Up (Karl Prussion), Manion Forum Newsletter, New and Views (Church League of America), On Target (Minutemen), Task Force (Defenders of the American Constitution), and Thunderbolt (National States Rights Party).

Note: The Appendix briefly describes each of the publications included in the study, with special attention to their organizational affiliations.

TABLE 1

1965 CIRCULATION OF THIRTY PUBLICATIONS WITH 2ND-CLASS POSTAL STATUS

	*Human Events (Weekly)	123,435		New Guard (Monthly)	19,088
	Liberty Letter (Monthly)	92,379	+ +	Through to Victory (Monthly)	18,080
	*National Review (Weekly)	86,273	+ +	Western Voice (Weekly)	17,795
+ +	The Defender (Monthly)	82,385		Life Lines (3 Times a Week)	10,600
+ +	*Christian Crusade (Monthly)	81,000		Augusta Courier (Weekly)	6,700
+	The Councilor (Semi-Monthly)	60,496		*Free Enterprise (Monthly)	6,162
+	Common Sense (Semi-Monthly)	52,000		*Modern Age (Quarterly)	5,328
+ +	Christian Beacon (Weekly)	50,000		Dawn (Monthly)	5,198
	*American Opinion (Monthly)	35,400		*Weekly Crusader (Weekly)	4,600
	*Dan Smoot Report (Weekly)	33,289		Conservative Viewpoint (Monthly)	4,200
+ +	*The Wanderer (Weekly)	33,055		*America's Future (Weekly)	3,250
+	The Citizen (Monthly)	30,490		Western Destiny (Monthly)	2,738
+	The Cross and the Flag (Monthly)	29,481		Washington News Beat	2,650
	American Mercury (Quarterly)	27,975		*Top of the News	2,094
	Freedom Press (Semi-Monthly)	19,498		National Chronicle (Weekly)	520

Source: Form 3526 returns filed with Post Office Department.

* Recommended by the John Birch Society

TABLE 2

PUBLICATIONS WITHOUT 2ND-CLASS POSTAL STATUS

	Publication	Circulation	Source
+ +	*Christian Economics (Fortnightly)	210,000 free	Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-65
	*The Freeman (Monthly)	15,232 paid 34,361 free 49,593	N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory, 1966
	*National Program Letter (Monthly)	37,000	November, 1965 promotional mailing
	*Independent American (Monthly)	23,000	July, 1965 promotional mailing
	Freedom Magazine (Monthly)	20,000	Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-65
	Intercollegiate Review (Bi-Monthly)	unknown, but ISI claims 18,000 members -- 1964 edition, Encyclopaedia of Associations	
	*Economic Council Letter (Semi-Monthly)	[illegible],000	Reports filed under Lobbying Act for 1962; (no subsequent reports have been filed)
	*Monetary Notes (Monthly)	5,500 free	Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-65
	*Firing Line (Monthly)	5,000	" " " "
	Washington Report (Monthly)	unknown, but ASC told a Chicago Daily News reporter in 1962 that it distributed "about 5,000" copies of its reports	
	*U. S. A. (Bi-Weekly)	1,500	Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-65

*Recommended by John Birch Society

(The various publications are described in the Appendix.)

Rankings

Tables 1 and 2 list recent circulation figures for 41 periodicals. Thirty of these have second-class status and the figure given is the average paid circulation for the year prior to October, 1965. Table 2 lists eleven periodicals which do not have second-class postal status but on which some sort of circulation figure is available. Nearly half of the publications listed in the two tables have been recommended to Birch Society members by its leader, Robert Welch. (See JBS Bulletin, April, 1962, for example)

The largest circulation is claimed by the fortnightly, Christian Economics, which goes free to a mailing list of more than 200,000 persons, mostly ministers. Among the periodicals with paid readerships, Human Events commands the largest circulation, followed by Liberty Lobby's monthly newsletter (which, at $1 a year, is one of the least expensive of those listed in Table 1), and William Buckley's influential National Review, perhaps the most respected of the periodicals on the right. Wide variety in terms of format, focus, and degree of ideological extremism characterizes the listings, and there seems to be little correlation between these factors and the size of readership. Thus, it is disturbing to note that two of the ten largest paid-circulation periodicals are characterized by openly bigoted material -- The Councilor and Common Sense -- and that the publication of one of the country's most durable bigots, Gerald L. K. Smith, ranks in the top fifteen. Thus, also, the highly intellectual quarterly, Modern Age, is bracketed in the standings by the highly simplified Free Enterprise and Dawn.

The importance of religious overtones on the American right wing, frequently noted by observers, is underlined by the fact that no less than four of the leading periodicals (Christian Economics, The Defender, Christian Crusade, and Christian Beacon) utilize specific religious appeal, as do an additional three of the less widely read (The Wanderer, Through to Victory, and Western Voice).

Finally, it should be noted that the circulation of a periodical is not necessarily the most significant indicator of the importance of an operation. Thus the relative impact of the radio programs of Fulton Lewis, Jr., America's Future, and Life Line, for example, are certainly far in excess of their printed circulation, and this is probably true to a lesser extent of the Dan Smoot Report and of Carl McIntire's "20th Century Reformation Hour" (sponsored by Christian Beacon).

Similarly, the general circulation periodical included in this study is frequently not the only publication of the organization concerned. The most important example here would be the Birch Society, which publishes a great deal of material beside American Opinion -- a monthly Bulletin, which goes to all members; a new weekly magazine, Review of the News (on which Form 3526 data for 1965 were not available); and a great many books and pamphlets. Life Lines publishes broadcast transcripts in addition to its newsletter. The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists also publishes Campus Report for its members. And, several of the organizations -- such as the National Education Program at Harding College, and Howard Kershner of Christian Economics -- distribute newspaper columns.

As a means of putting the circulation magnitudes shown in Tables 1 and 2 into perspective, it may be of interest to note comparable figures for some publications to the left of center, given below in Table 3. Here, again, it must be stressed that a broad variety is represented -- ranging from The Reporter (sometimes characterized as "Establishment Liberal") to The Worker and Political Affairs (both published by the U. S. Communist Party). It should also be stressed that no effort is being made here to list "counterpart" periodicals as such, but only to provide some quantitative comparison from the other side of the political spectrum.

It is noteworthy that only The Reporter exceeds Human Events in paid circulation, and that only it and New Republic rank with the top five of the right-wing publications listed in Table 1. Indeed, only three of those listed below have paid circulation which would place them in the top ten of the Table 1 publications, and the number of periodicals with circulation in excess of 15,000 is almost twice as large for the right-of-center group as for the left-of-center group.

TABLE 3

1965 CIRCULATION OF VARIOUS LEFT-OF-CENTER PUBLICATIONS

The Reporter (Fortnightly)	200,906
New Republic (Weekly)	118,528
Progressive (Monthly)	36,729
Ramparts (Monthly)*	29,471
The Nation (Weekly)	27,167
National Guardian (Weekly)	26,200
New Leader (Bi-Weekly)	25,420
I. F. Stone's Weekly	22,541
Minority of One (Monthly)	16,562
The Worker (Twice Weekly)*	15,605
Monthly Review	8,238
The Independent (Monthly)	7,782
Liberation (Monthly)	7,041
New America (Monthly)	6,350
Political Affairs (Monthly)*	5,000
Dissent (Quarterly)	4,736

Source: Those marked * are from N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory; others are from annual Form 3526 statements published under 2nd Class postal requirements.

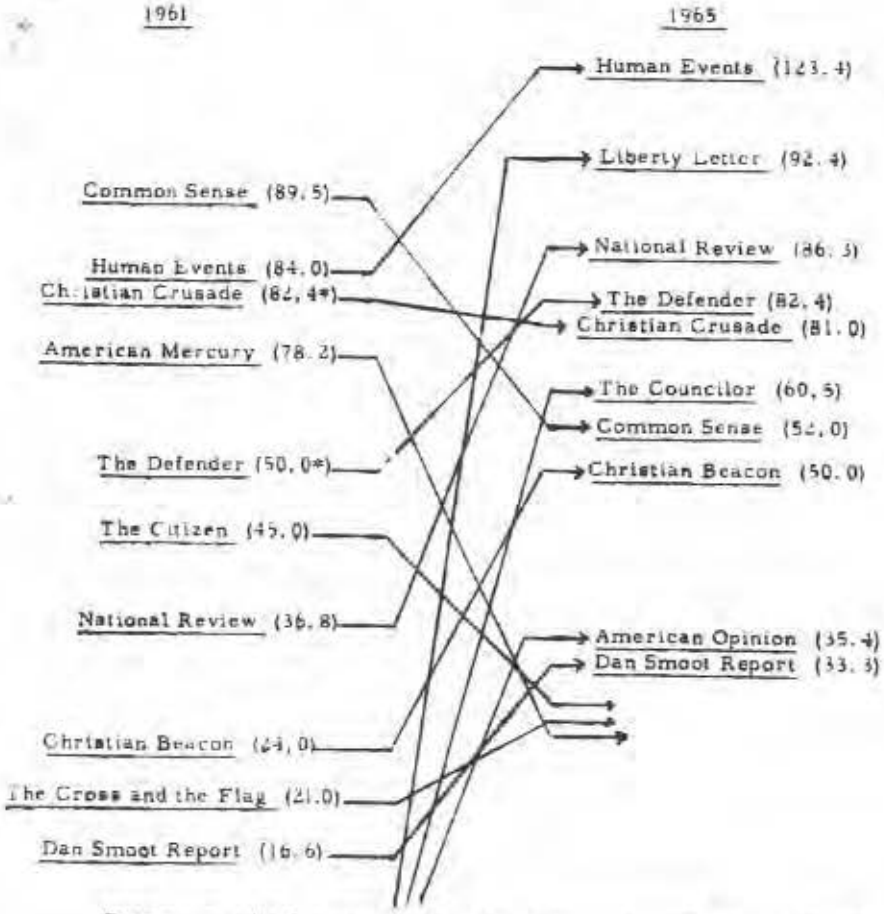
Changes from 1961 to 1965

Changes in the top-ranking right-wing periodicals between 1961 and 1965 are indicated in the listings of the "top ten" in each of those years -- shown on the next page.

Four of those listed remained in approximately their same relative position: Human Events moving from

THE TOP TEN, 1961 AND 1965

(Circulation in Thousands)



Source: * indicates estimated; others from annual Form 3526 statement published by periodicals with 2nd Class postal status.

2nd to 1st place; The Defender from 5th to 4th, and McIntire's Christian Beacon and the Dan Smoot Report staying at the 8th and 10th positions respectively. The National Review moved up very substantially, from 7th to 3rd place, while Hargis's Christian Crusade slipped from 3rd to 5th place. Three periodicals which were not top-ranking in 1961 were in 1965: Liberty Letter, which showed the most spectacular gain and took 2nd place; The Councilor, at 6th place; and the Birch Society's American Opinion, at 9th place despite its relative expense ($1 a copy or $10 a year). The most precipitous decline was registered by American Mercury, dropping from 4th place out of the ranks of the top ten. The Citizen did little better, dropping from 6th place out of the listing, and Common Sense, though remaining in the listing, fell from 1st to 7th place. Smith's The Cross and the Flag showed some increase in circulation over the five years, but not enough to hold even its 9th position.

The upward climb of Liberty Letter, National Review and American Opinion -- widely divergent though they are in tone and content -- may be reflective of increased political activity and interest on the right.

At the same time, the existence of a core of bigotry is testified to by the fact that the downward shift in the relative position of Common Sense and The Cross and the Flag is largely compensated for by the rise of The Councilor.

Growth Patterns

Data on changes in circulation over a period of time are furnished in Tables 4 and 5. Table 4 provides figures for twenty periodicals for as many as possible of the years 1960 through 1965. Table 5 covers the earlier period, 1956 through 1961, for only four periodicals. While not comparable to the larger sample, this makes possible a look at the growth over a decade of time of four relatively important ones.

The Over-All Pattern - As a composite measure of growth, index numbers have been computed for both Tables 4 and 5, and the results are charted in the graph below.

The larger sample of periodicals reflected a composite growth of nearly 50 per cent during the five years from 1960 through 1965. As will be noted, 1964 represented the year of most dramatic increase -- a result of the enthusiastic effort of the right wing in that year's presidential campaign. 1961 and 1965 also reflect substantial growth rates -- the latter probably as a continuation of the 1964 spurt, and the former probably as a reaction to the return of the Democratic Party to the White House.

The composite growth rate for the small sample of four periodicals is somewhat different -- primarily in the more rapid rate of growth exhibited, at least prior to the final two years of the period. Average paid circulation for these four publications increased by just over 40 per cent during the four years 1956-60; then rose by nearly 50 per cent in the following year alone. While the 1961 rise was the steepest, these four periodicals have continued to increase their circulation at a very substantial rate -- almost another 60 per cent in the four years 1961-65.

Again, in an effort to place this growth rate in some sort of context, the pattern for a group of mass-circulation magazines may be of interest. The composite circulation figure for ten such magazines (Ebony, Life, Look, McCall's, Newsweek, Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, Saturday Review, Time and U. S. News and World Report) grew by about 22 per cent during the period 1960 to 1965. (Based on circulation figures reported in N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory, 1961 and 1966 editions) The two growth rates are not completely comparable since the mass-circulation periodicals represent a much larger quantity, and therefore could not be expected to show as large a percentage increase. However, composite circulation for the five "left-of-center" periodicals in Table 3 for which comparable data are available

INDEX OF COMPOSITE CIRCULATION GROWTH, 1956 THROUGH 1965

(Based on Tables 4 and 5)

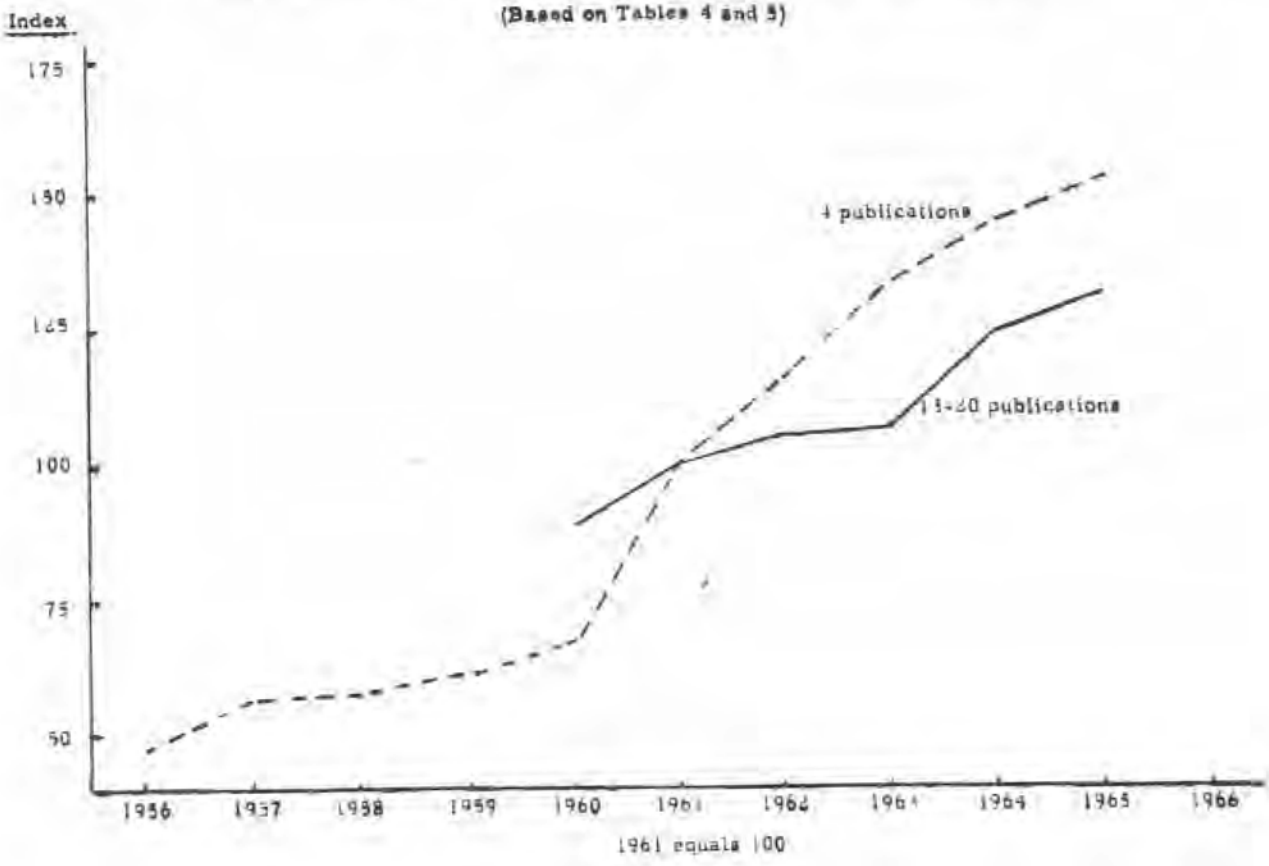


TABLE 4

CIRCULATION FIGURES, 1960-1965, TWENTY PUBLICATIONS

PUBLICATION	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Weeklies:						
*America's Future	--	--	/2,400/	/3,000/	3,075	3,250
Christian Beacon	(20,000)	24,000	32,000	45,120	66,495	50,000
*Dan Smoot Report	9,213	16,639	21,892	28,535	33,178	33,289
*Human Events	43,329	84,875	91,162	105,570	114,004	123,438
*National Review[a]	27,557	35,845	53,007	64,408	72,903	86,273
*Top of the News	--	--	1,700	2,131	1,920	2,094
*The Wanderer	(10,210)	/14,500/	(18,875)	19,462	21,140	33,055
Washington News Beat	--	3,760	4,160	2,862	2,612	2,650
*Weekly Crusader	/2,100/	/3,200/	/3,100/	2,118	3,865	4,600
Western Voice	--	--	--	15,538	13,185	17,795
Monthlies:						
American Mercury	87,500	78,826	57,438	(became quarterly - see below)		
*American Opinion	--	--	14,400	26,311	25,453	35,400
Christian Crusade	/57,700/	/82,400/	/80,400/	72,291	98,609	81,000
The Citizen	50,000	45,000	50,000	25,144	33,616	30,490
The Cross and the Flag	17,500	21,300	25,000	24,400	29,339	29,481
*Free Enterprise	3,563	6,129	6,978	4,600	9,200	6,162
Liberty Letter	--	/9,540/	/18,220/	15,302	26,528	92,379
Other:						
American Mercury (Quarterly)	.....	/see above/	.....	26,927	27,272	27,975
Common Sense (Semi-Monthly)	84,000	89,500	91,000	80,000	82,000	52,000
Life Lines (3 times a week)	--	--	/19,200/	17,700	17,540	10,600
*Modern Age (Quarterly)	5,289	5,526	5,286	5,318	5,178	5,328
INDEX OF GROWTH --	88.7	100.0	105.7	106.7	124.9	132.2

*JBS recommended
/ / estimated
( ) from N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals
[a] National Review Bulletin, alternate weeks.
-- not available

TABLE 5

CIRCULATION FIGURES, 1956-1961, FOUR PUBLICATIONS

Publication	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
*Human Events (Weekly)	25,612	40,333	38,119	39,220	43,329	84,875
*The Freeman (Monthly)	42,548	40,677	43,357	40,450	44,716	47,722
*National Review (Weekly)	18,000	19,419	19,080	25,835	27,557	38,845
*Dan Smoot Report (Weekly)	3,000	6,000	7,000	8,128	9,213	16,639
Index of Growth (1956: 100)	100.0	119.4	120.6	127.4	140.0	207.6
Index of Growth (1961: 100)	48.2	57.1	58.1	61.4	67.4	100.0

*Recommended by John Birch Society

Source: The Freeman from various editions of N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals; others from annual Form 3526 reports filed with Post Office Department.

(Nation, National Guardian, New Republic, Political Affairs, and Reporter), reflected a growth rate for the period substantially above that of the mass-circulation magazines, but below that reflected by the periodicals in Table 4 -- despite the fact that the quantitative "base" for the "left-of-center" periodicals was the smaller.

Individual Patterns -- While the over-all pattern was substantial growth, there were, of course, variations between individual periodicals. Three which grew rather steadily throughout the period covered were Human Events, National Review and The Wanderer. The Dan Smoot Report showed steady growth through 1964, then levelled off. Two others showed rather steady growth through 1964, then "fell off" the following year -- though still above their 1963 level: McIntire's Christian Beacon and Hargis's Christian Crusade. The Birch Society's American Opinion evidently would have grown steadily throughout except for a very sharp increase in price at the beginning of 1964. Despite this "setback," its over-all growth was among the most impressive.

The most spectacular growth, as has been noted, was exhibited by Liberty Letter. On the basis of data for the four years 1961-64, it appeared that its circulation was "tied" to election year; however the 1964 campaign gave it such a stimulus that it "broke" the pattern and instead of dropping back somewhat in the odd year, continued to grow at such a rate that its 1965 circulation was nearly quadruple the prior year's.

Three of the publications exhibited a general "downward" trend -- though each tended to "rally" somewhat in 1964: Common Sense (which lost its founder and long-time editor in mid-1963), The Citizen, and H. L. Hunt's Life Lines newsletter. The durable Gerald L. K. Smith publication, Cross and the Flag, exhibited a general upward tendency, but in a somewhat erratic manner.

Advertising

Roughly a dozen of the periodicals covered by this study carry outside advertising. While no attempt at a detailed survey of advertising patterns was attempted, the names of advertisers who appeared in more than one periodical may be worth noting.

Conservative Book Club and its publishing subsidiary, Arlington House, appear currently to be the largest buyers of space. Their ads -- usually full, or even double-page spreads -- are to be found in American Opinion, Human Events, Intercollegiate Review, National Review and New Guard.

The next most-ubiqitous advertiser would be Knott's Berry Farm, owned and operated by the active right-winger, Walter Knott (Sec 2 - IND). His ads are to be found in Freedom Press, Freedom Magazine, Human Events and New Guard.

American Temperance Associates, an insurance firm offering policies at reduced rates to non-drinkers, is a major advertiser in three of the periodicals which are aimed particularly at fundamentalist readers: The Defender, Christian Crusade, and Western Voice.

Schick Safety Razor Co., headed by Patrick Frawley, Jr. (Sec 2 - IND), is a major and regular advertiser

in both National Review and The Wanderer, and has also bought space in Freedom Press.

The Spirit of '76 House, Richard Jennett's mail order firm (see Sec 2 - IND), has been an occasional advertiser in American Opinion, Human Events, New Guard and The Wanderer.

Flick-Reedy Corp. and its Miller Fluid Power division buy space regularly in Freedom Magazine, Human Events and The Wanderer.

In addition to these, some eight firms are to be found advertising in at least two of the publications covered. (In most instances these firms are headed by people also active on the right wing.)

-- Allen-Bradley, a Milwaukee motor control manufacturer, regularly buys the back cover of American Opinion and either a full-page or two-thirds of a page in National Review.

-- W. H. Brady, another Milwaukee firm, which makes industrial tapes and labels, regularly advertises in National Review and New Guard.

-- Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association, of Los Angeles, which operates its own "Free Enterprise Bureau," regularly buys the inside cover of The Freeman, and also advertises in Freedom Press.

-- Dr. Ross and Skippy pet foods, headed by the late D. B. Lewis (Sec 2 - IND), appear regularly in American Opinion and in Freedom Press.

-- Haverhill's, a San Francisco mail order firm, advertises regularly in Human Events and National Review.

-- Kennametal, Inc., headed by Pennsylvania rightist, Philip McKenna, frequently buys two-thirds of a page in Freedom Magazine and in National Review.

-- Regnery Co., the conservative publishing house, advertises regularly in American Opinion and in Modern Age.

-- Spindale Mills, firm of Birch Society Council member A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., take a half-page regularly in American Opinion and similar space in Freedom Magazine.

Conclusions

While any tendency to generalize broadly on the basis of the foregoing data should be resisted, since the periodicals covered represent a variety of styles, viewpoints, and appeals, some conclusions do seem to be warranted.

First, taken as a whole, the data on right-wing and conservative periodicals reinforces the date on finances (see Sec 4 - Special Report # 16) as to the substantial size and significance of the American right wing. In general, moreover, right-wing periodicals seem to enjoy far wider circulation than left-of-center periodicals. That this is true of some of the more extreme and bigoted of the publications on the right is cause for particular concern.

Second, the present study also reinforces the finding on the basis of other indicators that the right-wing has exhibited impressive growth over the past several years. Moreover, the data confirm that the 1964 campaign provided the right-wing with an unprecedented stimulus, the effects of which carried over at least into the following year. Whether or not it represented some sort of a "water-shed" may be indicated as circulation figures for another year become available in the next few months.

APPENDIX: Descriptions of publications used in study, arranged in alphabetical order.

American Mercury

The Mercury was made famous during the 1920's under the iconoclastic editorship of H. L. Mencken. In the early 1950's, however, it was purchased by Russell Maguire and came to be characterized by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as "one of the most widely quoted and promoted periodicals in extremist circles," and therefore, "the single most important anti-Semitic publication at the present time." (Facts, October-November, 1959) Mercury circulation at that time was evidently well above 80,000.

At the end of 1960 ownership passed from Maguire to Oklahoma insurance man Gwynne W. Davidson, who had also taken over control of Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc., the operation of the late Kansas bigot Gerald Winrod, and was also publishing The Defender (see below). Under Davidson, the Mercury continued to utilize a variety of rightist sources, including such highly questionable ones as Don Bell Reports and Canadian Intelligence Digest. It also began to decline, in terms of size, prominence of contributors, and circulation.

After two years, ownership changed again, this time to a Texas organization, the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, headed by the late Mr. and Mrs. Jason Matthews. In April, 1963, it was changed from a monthly to a quarterly and a year later reached its nadir in terms of size -- the Spring and Summer, 1964, issues were only 8 pages each. Throughout the period of the Matthews' ownership, former General Edwin A. Walker played a prominent role, and after their deaths (in May, 1963, and November, 1964), he served until mid-1965 as publisher and managing editor. Rev. T. Robert Ingram (Sec 2 - IND), of Houston, was also a regular contributor.

Most recently, while technical ownership of the Mercury has not changed, the June, 1966, Quarterly issue announces a major reorganization. The new Chairman of the Board is Bruce Holman, who was Secretary of Liberty and Property a decade earlier. Liberty and Property had published the newsletter Right, and the new Mercury announces that it is taking over subscriptions to a recent successor, Western Destiny (see below). The Mercury also announces an arrangement with the new semi-monthly newsletter, Washington Observer, edited by a former Liberty Lobby staff member, Lee Roberts. These ties to Liberty Lobby (Sec 1 - ORG) and to the old Liberty and Property are also reflected in the list of Contributing Editors -- including Stanley Andrews, Curtis Dall, and Joseph Kamp, all of whom are on Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy; Austin J. App, Henry E. Garrett, Frank Meyers and Edward Vargas, all of whom were on the masthead of Western Destiny, and Robert Kuttner and Ned Touchstone, who were listed both places.

Subscription rates for American Mercury were: $4 a year through 1962, then $7 for 12 issues through mid-1964, and $10 a year since then (with the semi-monthly newsletter now being added without extra charge). Advertising is carried. Published at Houston, Texas; 2nd Class status at Oklahoma City, Okla.

American Opinion

Although Robert Welch announced in the June, 1960, issue of American Opinion that it "now belongs to the John Birch Society," the magazine pre-dates the organization. It began publication in February, 1956, as One Man's Opinion, changing its name two years later. Technical ownership of the magazine is vested in Robert Welch, Inc., but the John Birch Society, Inc., is listed as a major stockholder. Robert Welch is listed as "Editor" and Scott Stanley, Jr. as "Managing Editor." Its format is 5" x 9" in size, slick or coated paper throughout, front and back covers in color, and each issue generally runs to 110 or more pages. It does not use reprint material but relies on eight regular "departments" plus a number of special articles either by staff members or outside contributors. The Contributing Editors include Martin Dies, Sr., the former Congressman, and Medford Evans, who is on the staff also of the (White) Citizens' Councils. Former Congressman John Rousselot, now JBS public relations director is listed as "Publisher." Of a 16-man Editorial Advisory Board, some seven are JBS Council members. A joint July-August issue each year presents the magazine's annual "Scoreboard," -- "a composite of careful estimates made independently on four continents" of Communist influence in each country "as a percentage of total control."

American Opinion has had second-class postal status only since late 1961. The subscription rate was $5 a year through 1963, has been $10 a year since then. Advertising is carried. Published at Belmont, Mass.; 2nd Class status at Boston.

America's Future

A publication of America's Future, Inc. (Sec 1 - ORG); this describes itself as "A Weekly Review of News, Books and Public Affairs." Rosalie M. Gordon, author of Nine Men Against America, is listed as Editor, and R. K. Scott, who is the operation's radio commentator, is listed as Publisher. The format is a 5" x 7", eight-page newsletter. The first half is devoted to a summary of the material presented on that week's radio broadcast; (his is followed by a book review (usually by Rosalie Gordon); and the remaining space is devoted to brief reprint items, more often than not from newspaper editorials.

The material in a recent issue (7/8/66) indicates something of the flavor of the publication. "Red China in the UN?" ("The drive is again heavily under way to admit Communist China to the United Nations when that ineffectual, practically bankrupt but still dangerous international organization meets in the Fall"); "Shocking Admission and Proposal" (". . . Here is the

federal Commissioner of Education, 12 years after the Warren Court issued its unconstitutional ukase in the school segregation cases . . . admitting the result is a dismal failure"); "Golden Opportunity" (". . . There is much evidence that there has been a great deal of clandestine communist infiltration of the various civil rights movements"); and the week's book review of This Kind of Peace by T. R. Fehrenbach ("For anyone who has been fed a steady diet of rose-colored pro-UN press releases, the book should come as quite a revelation").

Although America's Future has had second-class postal status since November, 1959, for some reason, circulation figures are available only for 1964 and 1965. Since May of this year, the publication seems to have stopped utilizing its second-class status. The subscription rate has been $5 a year throughout the period since its first issue in March, 1959. No advertising is carried. Published at New Rochelle, N. Y.

Augusta Courier

This four-page, monthly tabloid is the personal publication of Roy V. Harris, who is national president of the (White) Citizens Councils of America. (Harris says that it has been suggested that he merge the Courier with the official magazine of the federation, The Citizen -- see below -- but that he prefers to keep it independent -- "It's my hobby." -- See James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, Appleton, 1962, p. 102.) A Georgia political figure, Harris was, surprisingly, an ally of Ellis Arnall in the early 1940's. They broke in 1945 -- Harris says that it was because he refused to "line up with the CIO and the Negroes." (Ibid., p. 110) Since then, Harris has been a leading figure in the segregationist forces of the state and region.

Described by one observer as "devoted almost entirely to white supremacist polemic," (Ibid., p. 102), the Courier features headlines such as: "Intelligent Race Relations Means Rigid Segregation"; "Lyndon Johnson, United States Congress Taking Orders From Martin Luther King"; and "When Did The Crime of Rape Become a Civil Right?" together with more general rightist charges, such as "Two Protestant Church Organizations Are Opposed To United States Victory Over Communism In Asia." Almost total concern with the "race issue" is reportedly a development of the 1960's, and the Courier was regarded in earlier years as a significant factor in state politics on other issues as well. Circulation of the paper has been relatively stable -- at least until recent years. From 1956 through 1963 it ranged between 4,800 and 5,400, averaging at almost exactly 5,000. The subscription rate has long been $4 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Augusta, Georgia.

Christian Beacon

Edited by Rev. Carl McIntire, the Beacon describes itself as: "an eight-page, tabloid size, weekly religious newspaper. It contains sermons, Sunday school lessons, editorials on current religious happenings, analysis of events that have special significance to Christians, up-to-date news, and photographic reproductions of important documents. . . . It is in the forefront of the battle against modernism, apostasy, Communism and a one-world church."

The publisher, Christian Beacon, Inc., is a tax-exempt organization but does not file annual Form 990-A returns, claiming that it is a religious organization. In addition to publication of the weekly and various pamphlets, Christian Beacon, Inc., sponsors McIntire's daily radio program, "20th Century Reformation Hour," which claims to be carried over more than 600 stations.

The Beacon specializes in reporting the activities of the National and World Councils of Churches (which it opposes), and of McIntire's own operations, such as the American and International Councils of Christian Churches (he is a leader in both), International Christian Youth, and his Christian Admiral Bible Conference and Freedom Center (at Cape May, N. J.). Something of the paper's flavor is conveyed by the following sample headlines: "Major news media spread doubt of God" (4/14/66); "Bulgarian tomatoes, Czech chocolate bunnies, and Polish hams take U. S. money to Red governments" (4/21/66); "Methodist, Marxist lines overlap" (4/28/66); "Christianity and Marxism Cannot Dialogue" (4/28/66); "Preachers' responsibility is Gospel, not encouraging lawlessness" (5/19/66); and "McIntire Denounces NCC /National Council of Churches/ Vietnam Position" (7/7/66). The Beacon's battle against liberalism extends even to its "Weekly Bible School Lesson." Thus, the 5/26/66 one says that some of the counselors to Joash "sold him their ideas of making radical and liberal changes in the lives of their people. They felt that Jehovah-God was too slow and old-fashioned an idea for them . . . . Such things are going on even in our day and with the same fatal results."

The Beacon began publication in 1936. The subscription rate has been $2 a year throughout the period covered in this study. No advertising is carried. Published at Collingswood, N. J.; 2nd Class status at Camden.

Christian Crusade

This is the monthly published by Billy James Hargis and his organization of that name. It utilizes a magazine format, 8 1/2"x11" with a standard size of 34 pages. The current name dates back only to early 1956, but it began publication in the late 1940's under the name Christian Echoes. Listed as Editor from early 1958 until early this year was Hargis's public relations consultant, L. E. "Pete" White. He has now been replaced by Gerald Pope, who had previously been an editor of The Defender (see below) and of American Mercury (during Gwynne Davidson's ownership -- see above). White continues to contribute a regular column.

Perhaps the most frequent contributor, aside from Hargis himself, is his assistant, David Noebel, best known for his booklet, Communism, Hypnotism and the Beatles. A frequent feature also is the "Foreign Intelligence Digest" of Gen. Charles A. Willoughby (Sec 2 - IND), former intelligence officer for Gen. MacArthur and now lending his name to a wide range of rightist organizations, including the Birch Society,

The following are sample article titles from Christian Crusade issues during the first half of this year: "A Lesson in Sellout" by Gen. Edwin A. Walker ("Why doesn't the U. S. Senate censure Robert F. Kennedy?"); "The Worker and the National Council of Churches" by David Noebel ("there is little doubt that the greatest single friend the Reds have in the USA is the National Council of Churches"); "The Unfair 'Fairness Doctrine'" by Billy James Hargis ("the so-called 'Fairness Doctrine' is based on 'fairness' according to the ideas of the ultra-left Liberal Establishment. This is a form of censorship . . ."); and "Sentinel of the West: Biography of General Franco" by Gen. C. A. Willoughby.

Subscription rate was $1 a year through January, 1964, and has been $2 since then. While the magazine has had Second-Class postal status at least since 1960, circulation figures are available only for 1963 to date. Advertising is carried, though most of it is for Hargis's own operations and publications. Published at Tulsa, Okla. (See Weekly Crusader, below)

Christian Economics

A fortnightly published by the tax-exempt Christian Freedom Foundation and edited by its head, Howard Kershner, (Sec 2 - IND) it began publication in 1950. Its front-page statement of principles reads:

> We uphold the Constitution of the United States and the limited government which it inaugurated; we believe in the free market economy and the faithful application of Christian principles to all economic activities.

The major financial backer of the Foundation and its periodical from the beginning has been J. Howard Pew, (Sec 2 - IND) the Sun Oil Co. magnate.

A four-page, newspaper format is utilized, with signed articles and occasional reprints in addition to the following regular features: "Voice of the Editor" -- in recent issues it has registered opposition to the proposed consular treaty (2/8/66); to the Supreme Court's "coddling of communism and Communists" (5/17/66); to an increase in the minimum wage (6/14/66); and to public welfare programs ("so-called state charity aggravates the problem, increases the number of needy and finally crushes the fit . . ." 2/22/66). "The Bible and Economics" -- recent titles have been "Christianity: Parent of Modern Capitalism," "The Ecumenical Madness," and "The Human Right to Private Property." Books recently reviewed favorably include Wilhelm Roepke's Welfare, Freedom and Inflation, H. L. "Bill" Richardson's Slightly to the Right, and Strike From Space by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward.

While paid subscriptions were once available -- at $1 a year at first, then $2 a year -- free distribution has always accounted for most of Christian Economic's circulation. (Ayer and Son's Directory in 1958 and 1959 listed 6,000 paid and 186,000 free distribution.) Since 1960 it has all been free distribution. No advertising is carried. Published at New York, N. Y.

The Citizen

This is the official publication of the federated /White/ Citizens' Councils of America. Begun in late 1955 as the paper of the Mississippi state organization, it became the voice of the federation the following year. A newspaper format and the name The Citizens' Council was used prior to September, 1961. Since then it has used the shorter name and a 5 1/2 x 8 1/2" magazine format, running anywhere from 22 to 46 pages. As a "house organ," it devotes much space to the activities of CCA and to articles and speeches by its staff members. It shares at least one regular contributor with the Birch Society's American Opinion -- Medford Evans. Sample article titles from recent issues are "Can 'Liberals' Be Educated?" (by Revilo P. Oliver), "Some Problems of Integration," "What's With Watts?", and "How to Start a Private School."

The subscription rate has been $3 a year since September, 1961; it was $2 before that. No outside advertising is carried. Published at Jackson, Miss.

Common Sense

Not to be confused with an earlier, liberal publication of the same name which ceased publication in the 1940's, this is the name also settled on by the late Conde McGinley, who published and edited it until his death in mid-1964. It is characterized by the Anti-Defamation League as a "notorious anti-Jewish hate sheet" (Forster and Epstein, Danger on the Right, p. 35), and was once described by the House Un-American Activities Committee as "a clearinghouse for hate propagandists throughout the country" (12/17/54 Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups, p. 10). McGinley began publication of a weekly in 1946, using various names; settled on Common Sense in mid-1948; and changed to a semi-monthly schedule the next year. It has since kept that schedule and the four-page tabloid format. The organizational name of the publisher is Christian Educational Association, and the two major stockholders have long been listed as Adm. John Crommelin (Sec 2 - IND) and Hannah Cummings of Philadelphia. (See Form 1566 reports, 1958-1965) Since McGinley's death, a William J. Thompson has been listed as "Acting Editor." (Ibid., 1963-3)

The death of McGinley has not changed the anti-Semitic content of Common Sense. One recent issue front-paged an attack on the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966, asking if the shooting of James Meredith in Mississippi was "part of the Zionist strategy to push the passage" of the bill. The next page was headlined "Zionist Stranglehold on USA Tightening" and included an excerpt from the spurious Protocols of Zion in a box. And, the back page headline was "Jews Take Aim at Detroit Executive Jobs" with another boxed excerpt from the Protocols. (6/15/66 issue)

The subscription rate has been $3 a year (or $5 in a sealed envelope) since September, 1964; was $1 (or $3 in sealed envelope) prior to that. No outside advertising is carried. Published at Union, N. J.

Conservative Viewpoint

Published and edited by Richard Cotten (Sec 2 - IND), whose main effort is his radio program of the same name, this is the newest of the periodicals covered in this study. It began publication in January, 1965, as a monthly, in a tabloid format, usually of eight pages. It utilizes a substantial amount of photo-reproduction from other right-wing sources, since Cotten regards as one purpose of the publication, "to bring you materials from many groups across the Nation." The sources chosen extend to obvious anti-Semites, including Gerald L. K. Smith, Common Sense, Robert H. Williams. Cotten's issue of July 15, 1965 was entirely devoted to "dealing with the Zionist situation."

Recently, Cotten has announced that the tabloid will shift to a bi-monthly schedule, and changed the name to Richard Cotten's Proof Sheet ("to avoid confusion with our daily /radio/ scripts"). The subscription rate, which was $3.50 a year, is now the same amount for eleven issues. Advertising is not carried. Published at Bakersfield, Calif.

The Councilor

The official publication of the (White) Citizens' Council of Louisiana, The Councilor has been described by the Anti-Defamation League as "blatantly racist and openly anti-Semitic." (Epstein and Forster, Report on the John Birch Society 1966, p. 10) It is a semi-monthly tabloid of four pages, and began publication in 1962. Typical headlines are: "'Stab-Ins' Planned As New Civil Rights Terror Campaign" (2/20/66), "U.N. Plot Would Outlaw Writings of Lincoln, Washington, Franklin and Tom Jefferson . . ." (3/10/66), "Federal and State Legislation Based on 1928 Communist Party Platform" (5/25/66), and "Leftist Church Group Votes Officially to Deny Christ" (6/18/66). It features pictures of inter-racial couples, families and groups, and whenever possible identifies celebrities by Jewish names rather than their stage names. Now a regular feature of the paper is a front-page column by Westbrook Pegler.

The subscription rate is $2 a year. Some advertising is carried, though it seems almost entirely to be local in origin. Published at Shreveport, Louisiana.

The Cross and the Flag

Now in its twenty-fifth year of publication, this monthly magazine is the official organ of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade. It is 8" x 11" in size and runs to a standard 36 pages. It relies very heavily on material from other sources and frequently runs a box expressing thanks "to our friends who send in marked clippings . . . ." A content analysis of the magazine by a U.C.L.A. journalism professor found that two-fifths of its assertions were specifically anti-Semitic or racist or both. (Walter Wilcox, "The Press of the Radical Right")

The subscription rate is $2 a year. No outside advertising is carried (full-page ads of "Morgan for Books", a mail order firm, seems likely to be a Smith-related operation -- one of his aides is named Roland Lee Morgan -- since no other ads ever appear). Published at Los Angeles, Calif.; 2nd Class status is at Glendale.

Dan Smoot Report

In format a four-page, weekly newsletter, this presents the same material as Smoot's weekly radio-television program. Both were begun in mid-1958. Each week, Smoot focuses on a single theme and the newsletter utilizes footnotes as a standard feature. Some recent titles follow: "Criminal Anarchy" (5/23/66) -- "The National Council of Churches has been recruiting, training, and financing people to create racial hatred and contempt for law"; "Communism on the Campus" (5/30/66) -- "Unless discipline is restored, colleges will become, not institutions of higher learning, but spawning grounds for subversion, perversion, and treason"; "For Our Own Survival" (6/29/66) -- "The bipartisan internationalist foreign policy which our government has followed since World War II keeps us involved in wars which our political leaders will not let us win . . . . For our own survival, we must return to the traditional policy of national independence and benign neutrality which George Washington urged in his Farewell Address"; and "How to Roll Back the Socialist Revolution" (7/18/66) -- "In short, one certain way to roll back the socialist revolution is to adopt the Liberty Amendment . . . . This amendment would repeal the 16th (income tax) Amendment, specify that treaties cannot override our Constitution, and prohibit the federal government from engaging in any enterprise except as authorized by the Constitution."

The subscription rate is $10 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Dallas, Texas.

Dawn

Begun in 1955 and edited until his death in 1962 by Sherwood C. Ide, a retired Indiana publisher, Dawn describes itself as "The National Patriotic Tabloid," and has been continued since Ide's death by his widow, Jane B. Ide. Published monthly and usually eight pages in length, it utilizes quite a considerable amount of reprint material, from the Congressional Record and from such sources as Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and Southern States Industrial Council. A regular contributor is Charles A. McCarthy, who is the executive vice-president of the related Council for Individual Freedom, also founded by Sherwood Ide. McCarthy writes that "It is imperative that we face up to the fact that we have lost the republic of our fathers" and warns "It will avail us nothing to pretend that the United States is not changed from a representative capitalism to a federal socialism." (Issues of September and October, 1965)

The subscription rate has been $2 a year since mid-1963 was $1 annually prior to that time. No outside advertising is carried. Published at Portland, Ind.

The Defender

This monthly magazine was begun in 1926 by the fundamentalist Kansas minister, Gerald B. Winrod, who also founded the tax-exempt organizational entity, Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc. Winrod, whose sympathy for Germany following visits in the 1930's led some people to dub him "the Jayhawk Nazi," ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1938, with the slogan: "Let's Keep Christian America Christian . . . ." He attacked Catholics, Masons and Jews and came to be what Arnold Forster of the Anti-Defamation League called "the most successful operator" among those "dissident preachers whose religion is dosed with a heavy mixture of prejudice." (Forster, A Measure of Freedom, p. 81; see also Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, esp. pp. 26-39.)

After Winrod's death in late 1957, the organization was headed for a while by associates of his, first Rev. William T. Watson, then Dr. J. William Bostrom. In early 1960, leadership passed to Oklahoma insurance man, Gwynne W. Davidson, who also purchased American Mercury (see above, page 9). Under Davidson, The Defender continued to reprint Winrod columns and articles and to use such extremist contributors as Kenneth Goff, a former associate of Gerald L. K. Smith's and Rev. Bob Shuler, who has also worked with Smith. (See Roy, op. cit., pp. 61 and 329-32)

By 1964, Davidson was succeeded as president of Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc. by G. H. Montgomery, who continues also as editor of The Defender, and has moved the headquarters from Oklahoma City to Kansas City. Continuity through these changes of leadership has been provided, however, by Mrs. M. L. Flowers, who had joined Winrod's staff as Business Manager and is now Secretary-Treasurer of the tax-exempt organization. While Montgomery appears to have eliminated bigotry from the magazine, it has not repudiated its past, and last year Montgomery himself published a biography of Winrod which characterized him on the cover as "Christian Soldier, Crusading Patriot, Defender of the Faith." The magazine also continues to lean toward rightist material from time to time. Thus, the February, 1966 issue featured a Montgomery article titled, "One World Government -- How Close Are We?" and the magazine offered subscribers a free copy of Strike From Space (Sec 3 - PUB). A regular feature called "Capitol Hill Voices" reprints excerpts from the Congressional Record -- usually by the more conservative Members.

The subscription rate is $2 a year. While advertising was formerly carried, the July, 1966 issue announces that "all advertising will be discontinued." Published at Kansas City, Mo.

Economic Council Letter

This is the semi-monthly, four-page newsletter of the National Economic Council, founded (as the New York Economic Council) in 1930 by the late Merwin K. Hart, referred to by Benjamin Epstein and Arnold Forster, of the Anti-Defamation League, as "one of America's most prolific voices of anti-Semitism through almost three decades." (Report on the John Birch Society, 1966, p. 30) Since Hart's death in 1962, the Council has been headed by Mark M. Jones (Sec 2 - IND). While the Council, under Hart, was given to such charges as one that "the Zionists . . . became responsible for Hitler's going berserk;" under Jones it has tended to concentrate primarily on economic issues. Its current viewpoint is reflected in a red flyer that accompanied the March 15th issue this year and charged that

> these five usurping forces /the President, Supreme Court, "Labor Politicos," "Harvard 'Liberals,'" and "One World New Yorkers"/ have used the Congress to enact a program to dismantle the Constitutional System of the United States, while picking the pockets of the people to pay for it . . . More and more Members of Congress are in violation of their oaths of office . . . . What are YOU going to do about it?

It is also reflected in a box run in recent issues (May 15, 1966, for example) urging readers to "talk and work" against

> increases in government spending . . . unilateral disarmament . . . the Federal bureaucracy . . . the privileged position /of/ unresponsible labor . . . inflationary pressures, /and for/ the Prayer Amendment.

The subscription rate is $10 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at New York, N. Y.

Firing Line

This is the monthly newsletter of the American Legion's National Americanism Commission. It is "devoted to exposing subversive activities in the United States" and says that it "is recognized by authorities on Communism and by officials of several investigative, intelligence and inspection groups of the Federal Government as one of the important publications in the specialized field of reporting on subversive individuals, organizations and publications." While it has given critical mention to The Minutemen and the Ku Klux Klan, it's main targets are organizations on the left -- in recent months particularly those critical of U. S. policy in Vietnam. On occasion, its sources have shaded into the highly conservative part of the political spectrum, such as Human Events, America's Future, Fulton Lewis's Top of the News, and Young Americans for Freedom. At least once, it gave what amounted to a plug to the irresponsible National Eagle put out by Portland, Oregon's Freedom Center (Sec 1 - ORG). (Firing Line, August, 1963; the issue mentioned in the newsletter carried the front-page charge that "Martin Luther King, the NAACP and other race agitation /sic/, are tools forging ultimate Communist objectives.")

Firing Line began publication in 1951 and was semi-monthly through 1960. The subscription rate has been $3 a year throughout. No advertising is carried. Published at Indianapolis, Indiana.

Free Enterprise

This is the monthly tabloid, usually eight pages, informally affiliated with We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG). WTP President Harry Everingham edits the paper and it carries a regular front-page column by the WTP Chairman, currently Tom Anderson, who is also a member of the John Birch Society's National Council. Free Enterprise utilizes a substantial amount of photo-reproduction from other sources, including the daily press as well as such right-wing sources as the Manion Forum (run by another member of the Birch Society Council, Clarence Manion). Headlines selected from recent issues reflect some of the flavor of the paper:

--"Americans, Arouse Yourselves! The One World Conspirators are Fast Approaching Their Objective . . . ." (April, 1966)

--"To End Supreme Court Tyranny. Let Every American Know the Score" (May, 1966)

--"Reds Plan to Control Geneva World Council of Churches Meeting" (June, 1966)

--"Let's Stop Disarming and WIN THIS WAR While We Still Can!" (July, 1966)

The subscription rate has been $3 a year, since at least 1960. Advertising is carried. Published in Chicago from mid-1948 through 1965, Free Enterprise moved to Phoenix at the beginning of this year.

Freedom Magazine

The bi-monthly magazine of the Liberty Amendment Committee (Sec 1 - ORG), and successor to Willis Stone's earlier magazine, American Progress. Freedom Magazine is 8 1/2" x 11" in size, and currently runs to a standard 28 pages in length. While it focuses primarily on material related to its own campaign for the so-called "Liberty Amendment" (to repeal the 16th -- income tax -- amendment and to forbid the Federal government to "engage in any business, professional, commercial, financial or industrial enterprise except as specified in the Constitution"), the magazine reprints material from other periodicals on the right, such as Christian Economics, The Freeman and Life Lines.

Although he maintains that "the 'right-wing' label has been misapplied to the Liberty Amendment, Willis Stone has always worked closely with such organizations as We, The People! and the Courtneys, of New Orleans; and the Liberty Amendment Committee's state chairmen are frequently affiliated also with the Birch Society.

From Stone's adoption of a magazine format at the beginning of 1955 through 1964, the subscription rate was $3 for 12 issues; since then it has been $4 for 12 issues. Advertising is carried. Published at Los Angeles, Calif.

Freedom Press

A semi-monthly newspaper, published in Southern California by Mr. and Mrs. William Drake, who came to the state from Florida in 1951. Freedom Press began as a monthly in 1961 and changed to the twice-monthly publication schedule the following year. Usually eight pages, it utilizes the syndicated columns of Edith Kermit Roosevelt and the Allen-Scott Report regularly, along with articles by both of the Drakes. Other frequent "by-lines" appearing in Freedom Press are Lee Adamson, whose column also appears in The Wanderer (see below, page 19); Jose Norman, a Cuban refugee who speaks widely under the auspices of the Birch Society's American Opinion Speakers Bureau; and Jack Moffit, whose "Cracker Barrel" column also appears in American Opinion, along with his regular column on movies and the arts for the Birch Society magazine. The front-page banner headlines of three consecutive recent issues also reflect the flavor of the publication: "Federal Rights Officials Favor Civil Disobedience" (6/17/66), "Thought Control for U.S.A.?" (5/31/66), and "Gov't Spending Spree" (5/15/66).

The subscription rate was $2 a year until March, 1962, and has been $4 since then. The paper secured second-class postal status in late 1962, and reported an average paid circulation of 14,961 for the following year. Advertising is carried. Published at Glendale, Calif.

The Freeman

Reviving a name which had been utilized by the late Albert Jay Nock, a political theorist of individualism, The Freeman was launched in 1950 by John Chamberlain, Henry Hazlitt, Suzanne La Follette, and Alfred Kohlberg. Since mid-1954 it has been published by the tax-exempt Foundation for Economic Education, of Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., which describes it's philosophy as "libertarian" -- against all forms of state intervention, and for the free market and private property. (Even before 1954, Leonard Read and FEE were listed among the owners of The Freeman, and there was continuity of editorial staff following the magazine's adoption by FEE.)

A monthly throughout its history, it has utilized a 5 1/4" x 7 1/4" format with a standardized 64-page length since the beginning of 1956. Articles by FEE staff-members and others are combined with reprints from various sources. In line with the purposes of FEE, the magazine's main, though not exclusive focus is on economic issues. The Managing Editor is Paul L. Poirot, of the FEE staff. Among the most frequent contributors -- in addition to Poirot and FEE President Leonard Read -- are Clarence B. Carson, a history professor at Grove City College; Edmund A. Opitz, another member of the FEE staff; and William Henry Chamberlin, a regular columnist for the Wall Street Journal.

Some of the flavor of the magazine and of the application of 'libertarian' principles to specific issues is reflected in the titles of articles which have appeared this year: "Individualism versus Racism" ("The overwhelming tendency of the [1964 Civil Rights] Act is to deny the civil rights of producers -- property owners -- in favor of the wishes of those seeking

something for nothing . . . ."); "The Fallacy of Foreign Aid" ("Our conclusion is that government-to-government foreign aid, as it exists at present, is a deterrent, not a spur, to world economic prosperity . . . ."); "The Fiasco of Urban Renewal" ("Contrast, for example, the fantastic increase of 18 million homes in the areas outside urban renewal projects with the net decrease of homes within . . . ."); "How Price Control Leads to Socialism"; "'Creative Federalism'" (". . . socialism is the state ownership of the means of production (the planned economy) and/or . . . of the results of production (the welfare state). The new federalism qualifies as socialism pure and simple.")

Although N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory classifies almost one-third of The Freeman's circulation as "paid," there is no subscription rate as such. The masthead points out that people are placed on FEE's mailing list on request, adding that "Total expenses average $12 a year per person on the mailing list" and that donations "are invited in any amount." Advertising is confined to the inside covers. Published at Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

Human Events

Founded in early 1944 as a Washington newsletter, by the late Frank Hanighen, Human Events changed from the newsletter to a tabloid format in 1962. It relies heavily on reprint material, especially the syndicated work of a number of conservative columnists (the masthead lists more than twenty who appear regularly). Since the deaths in 1964 of both Hanighen and his long-time associate, James Wick, the editor has been Thomas S. Winter, who joined Hanighen's staff as an Assistant Editor in December, 1961, and the publisher has been Wick's brother, Milton.

Regular staff-written features in Human Events include a two-page news round-up "from Inside Washington," "Spotlight on Congress," which uses excerpts from the Congressional Record; and (in pre-election months) a "Races of the Week" page, which analyzes contests between liberals and conservatives. Some of the flavor of the paper is reflected in these sample headlines from recent issues: "Castro Guerrillas Busy in Puerto Rico" by Fulton Lewis, Jr.; "Supreme Court Clears Cain of Murder of Abel" by Morris Ryskind; "Slanted News Misleads Public"; "Teen-Age Street Gangs Used in Civil Rights Protests" (from Allen-Scott Report; "Foreign Aid Should be Made Election issue" by Edgar Ansel Mowrer; "Free Enterprise System is True Path to Social Justice" (an editorial from the Indianapolis Star); "Why I Would Outlaw Residential Picketing" by Barry Goldwater; "Liberal Theories from 1930's Causing Today's Welfare Problems" by Alice Widener; and "Mississippi March Rated Another Civil Rights Failure" by George Schuyler.

The subscription rate for Human Events have changed a number of times. Prior to 1959 it was $10 a year; then it rose to $11 and a year later to $12.50. For just over a year 1963-4, it was dropped back down to $9, but since mid-1964 it has been back at the $12.50 annual rate. Advertising has been carried since the adoption of the tabloid format. Published at Washington, D. C.

Independent American

Begun in January, 1955 as Free Men Speak, then changing its name to the current one in 1957, this is the main publication of Kent and Phoebe Courtney, of New Orleans. (See Sec 4 - Special Report #5) While it's masthead says that it is published "approximately every four to six weeks," it has actually appeared every two months during the period since 1962. Its format is standard newspaper size, and it usually runs to eight pages. A regular statement of policy declares that the paper is

> dedicated to the defeat of Socialist and Communist influences that now pervade the thinking of our Federal government and the two major political parties. We believe that there is no difference between a New Deal Democrat and a Socialist-Internationalist Republican.

While Independent American always carries material written for it -- usually by the Courtneys themselves -- it relies heavily on reprints, not only of conservative and rightist columnist, but also of editorials from the more conservative segments of the daily press. Regular sources of the latter include William Loeb's Manchester (New Hampshire) Union-Leader, the Pulliam papers in Indianapolis (the News and Star), the Chicago Tribune, the Shreveport (Louisiana) Times, and the Richmond (Virginia) News-Leader. The most frequently used columns are those of Edith Kermit Roosevelt, Tom Anderson (of the Birch Society's National Council), Thurman Sensing (of Southern States Industrial Council), and the late Fulton Lewis, Jr. (despite a mid-1965 controversy between Lewis and the Courtneys over the latter's attack on Sen. Dodd as a "phony anti-communist"). Two members of Congress whose newsletters are frequently used as source material are Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R-Iowa).

The following headlines from recent issues indicate the flavor and viewpoint of the paper: "LBJ Panders to Afro-Asian Bloc by Moving Against Anti-Communist Rhodesia" by Phoebe Courtney; "Criminal Folly of the United Nations" by Thurman Sensing; "Children Get Slanted, Brainwash Type Questions on Federal Testing" from Ft. Lauderdale News; "Red-Lining Peaceniks" by Fulton Lewis, Jr.; "CFR (Council on Foreign Relations) at the Control Switch -- Why the Republican Party Can't Really Oppose LBJ" by Phoebe Courtney; "Is Britain's Harold Wilson a Communist?"; and "Reds Infiltrate Even the Circus." The paper is currently indicating that it might support Alabama's George Wallace for President in 1968.

The subscription rate has long been $3 for 12 issues. No advertising is carried. Published at New Orleans, Louisiana.

Intercollegiate Review

Beginning publication in January, 1965, this is the most recent, and most ambitious, of the publication efforts of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (Sec 1 - ORG). "A Journal of Scholarship and Opinion," it utilizes the format of the "scholarly journal" ..

7" x 10" size, heavy paper, and usually in excess of 50 pages in length. It appears six times a year.

The Review's Editorial Advisory Board is made up of conservative academicians from all parts of the country and its contributors are generally either faculty members or graduate students. It's general point of view might be described as "hard-line" in foreign policy and "libertarian" or "laissez-faire" in domestic policy. That it is aimed at the intellectual rather than the "man-in-the-street" is readily seen in the following sample titles from recent issues: "John Locke Revisited" by Willmore Kendall; "Tyranny, a Private Good"; "The Relation Between Power and Values in the Nuclear Age" by William Kintner; "The Materialistic Curtain in Higher Education"; "Freedom, Metaphysics, and Natural Law"; and "Utopianism and Realism in International Relations Theory."

Sent free to "student members and professors on the ISI mailing list," the Review carries a subscription rate of $4 a year for non-members. Advertising largely for books and other journals) is carried. Published at Philadelphia.

Liberty Letter

The monthly newsletter of Liberty Lobby (See 1 - ORG), this began irregular publication in January, 1961, settling into a monthly schedule two years later. While concentrating primarily on legislative issues, it also reports on the activities of Liberty Lobby and of other organizations closely related to it. The legislative viewpoint of the organization is partially reflected in such stands as against foreign aid, civil rights legislation, tariff reductions, and for a "pro-American" foreign policy, states' rights, less government spending and lower taxes, and withdrawal from the United Nations.

The flavor of the newsletter may be even more clearly reflected in its use of such headlines as: "Jobs . . . Security Threatened as Immigration Vote Nears" (September, 1965); "LBJ Threatens War on Friends /Rhodesia/" (November, 1965); "Extremists Plot Six-Point Package for Appeasement" (January, 1966); and "Socialists Plan Labor Government with 14-B Money" (February, 1966).

The subscription rate has been $1 a year throughout. 2nd-class postal status was granted in mid-1961. Some outside advertising is carried -- usually a small box. Published at Washington, D. C.

Life Lines

This is the three-times-weekly newsletter of H. L. Hunt's Life Line Foundation. It does not identify the Hunt sponsorship but describes itself as "a nonprofit non-denominational, religious-patriotic organization . . . dedicated to the preservation of American Freedoms through an informed public." A second major aspect of the foundation's activities is represented by its daily radio program, "Life Line." (See Sec 4 - Special Report #6)

The newsletter, which has used a 4-page, 8 1/2" x 11" format since the beginning of 1963, began publication in late 1959. It often focuses on one topic in an issue, as does the radio program. Substantial use is made of reprint material, from the Congressional Record, reports of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and from other publications and organizations. Hunt himself frequently appears as a "guest columnist." On at least one occasion this year, Life Lines made a major slip -- publishing an attack on the Boy Scouts which it said "appeared in a recent issue of Pravda." The piece actually was a spoof, originally concocted by the satirical publication, Mad magazine. (See Life Lines 4/29/66. It is indicative of the newsletter's view of the Soviets that it didn't recognize satire in a charge that "the Scout czars have also set up a sister organization /the Girl Scouts/ . . . . /which/ turns girls into unpaid door to door cookie vendors" with the proceeds going "directly to the Wall Street masterminds of the entire plot.")

More typical of the Life Lines style and viewpoint are the following selected quotes: "In the Protestant sphere, mass produced Sunday School material and many of the lessons taught to adult church classes bear a remarkable resemblance to statements of government agencies" (1/12/66); "Should we disarm, unilaterally or even as Communist nations make a show of some form of disarmament, we will lay this nation open to the defeat the Communists have been telling us about since 1917" (1/21/66); "Patriotism can recognize but one class of loyal citizens: those who are loyal without any ifs or buts or on the other hands" (6/29/66); "The ultimate end of government-in-business is state socialism, a system alien to American life; yet, government is continually entering some new field or deepening its hold on some business territory" (7/20/66); "for better or worse, the United States has entered into a contract with socialized (state) medicine in medically 'insuring' persons 65 and older" (8/12/66); and "Many people today -- especially psuedo-intellectuals, minority groups and new nations -- are demanding the freedom to do as they please" (8/22/66).

The subscription rate is $5 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Washington, D. C.

Modern Age

Begun in mid-1957, this quarterly formerly utilized the subtitle, "A Conservative Review," but now merely calls itself "A Quarterly Review." It is published under the auspices of the tax-exempt Foundation for Foreign Affairs. The largest single contributor to the Foundation seems to be the Marquette Charitable Trust, which is closely connected with the Regnery family, and the Foundation -- in addition to sponsoring Modern Age -- has sponsored a series of books published by the Regnery firm. Executive Secretary of the Foundation, and listed by Modern Age as its publisher, is David S. Collier; President of the Foundation and Editor of the Quarterly is Eugene A. Davidson, formerly on the staff of the Yale University press.

The format is that of the scholarly journal, 7" x 10" and with a standard length of 112 pages. The Summer, 1966 issue (which seems to be typical), contains such articles as "Civil Rights and Young 'Conservatives'" by W. H. Hutt (currently a visiting professor of economics at the University of Virginia, more significantly a dean in the

commerce faculty of the University of South Africa); "Pitfalls of Forced Integration" by William Henry Chamberlin (Wall Street Journal columnist); a call for a return to the gold standard; two articles on natural law; a critical look at Sweden (as the "pilot study of welfare capitalism"); and more than 30 pages of book reviews.

The subscription rate is $4 a year and circulation over the past six years seems to have been stable (at 5,000 plus.) Advertising, at least for books and other journals, is carried. Published at Chicago.

Monetary Notes

This is the monthly newsletter of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, edited (and primarily authored) by the Committee's long-time Executive Vice-President, Walter Spahr.

Among the Committee's stated purposes are "To combat unsound monetary programs such as those of the inflationists, devaluationists, and commodity dollar advocates" and "To educate the public as to the desirability of an early return to a gold standard." A 1965 letterhead lists some 68 economists from various sections of the country. Included are a number of familiar names from various points on the right-wing spectrum: Karl Brandt, a member of Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisors and reputedly a Goldwater adviser in 1964; Lev Dobriansky, perhaps best known as chairman of the Captive Nations Week Committee, but prominent in the work of other organizations, including the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and the American Security Council; Melchior Palyi, who has appeared as a witness representing the Citizens' Foreign Aid Committee; Hans F. Sennholz, who has a regular column in the Birch Society's magazine, American Opinion; and V. Orval Watts, who has worked closely with Robert LeFevre's Freedom School at Colorado Springs.

Although the Committee was organized in late 1933, Monetary Notes apparently did not begin publication until 1940. It is a four-page publication distributed free (including copies to all Members of Congress). No advertising is carried. Published at New York City.

National Chronicle

This is the successor to the Shasta County Chronicle of Burney, California, which began in January of 1952. Its long-time editor-publisher is Hal W. Hunt. A four-page weekly, utilizing a newspaper format, it has long been characterized by an extreme viewpoint -- until early 1964 its masthead carried the slogan: "Get the U. N. OUT of the U. S. & the U. S. OUT of the United Nations." More recently it has become even more extreme, featuring anti-Semitic materials and sentiments and sporting as its masthead slogan, "The SUPREMACY of the WHITE MAN MUST BE UPHELD."

The subscription rate was $3.50 a year thru 1962, then $4 until 1965, is now $5 annually. Circulation appears to have been relatively stable at a low level -- 460 reported for 1958, only 538 reported for 1962, some four years later. Advertising is carried. Published at Burney, Calif.

National Program Letter

This is the four-page, monthly newsletter of the National Education Program at Harding College (see Sec 4 - Special Report #14). It used to describe itself as "A Monthly Letter of thought and opinion about America's problems . . ." -- it now bears the three-point slogan: "Working To Expand Man's Freedom (Not Constrict It), To Expand Man's Worth (Not Erode It), To Expand Man's Faith in God (Not in False Idols)."

The lead items in four recent issues were titled as follows: "Today's Three Horsemen" /Darwin, Marx and Keynes/, "No Time for New Taxes" ("the American public . . . ought to create a nationwide clamor for drastically cutting or abolishing altogether all Government spending not absolutely essential to cope with the crisis we are in -- hot war and destructive inflation), "No Retreat in Vietnam" and "'Experts' Aid World Communism" /by supporting admission of Red China to the U. N./

The subscription rate, at least since the late 1950's, has been $1 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Searcy, Ark.

National Review

Generally identified with William F. Buckley, Jr., (Sec 2 - IND) its founder and editor, National Review is probably the best known of the periodicals of the right wing, despite the fact that it is not the most widely circulated. Critics Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein characterize it as "the best-written and best-edited Rightist publication in the country." (Danger on the Right, p. 243)

Although it classifies itself as a "weekly," since October of 1958 it has actually been two publications in one: alternating a "slick" paper magazine, usually of 50 pages length, with an eight-page newsletter format, National Review Bulletin. Each is available singly, though it seems likely that the Bulletin's readership is largely made up of those subscribing to both.

In its first issue, published in November of 1955, National Review announced that it would stand "athwart history, yelling Stop, at a time when no one is inclined to do so . . . ." It continued:

> National Review is out of place, in the sense that the United Nations and the League of Women Voters and the New York Times and Henry Steele Commager are in place. It is out of place because, in its maturity, literate America rejected conservatism in favor of radical social experimentation.

In the same issue, the magazine set forth its convictions, which -- together with the first half-dozen issues -- were to lead Harper's editor John Fischer to conclude that "the new magazine was an organ, not

of conservatism, but of radicalism." (Harper's, March, 1956) Some excerpts from NR's "Credenda" follow:

> It is the job of centralized government (in peacetime) to protect its citizens' lives, liberty and property. All other activities of government tend to diminish freedom and hamper progress. . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> The century's most blatant force of satanic utopianism is communism. We consider "coexistence" with communism neither desirable nor possible, nor honorable; we find ourselves irrevocably at war with communism and shall oppose any substitute for victory.
>
> . . . .
>
> The most alarming single danger to the American political system lies in the fact that an identifiable team of Fabian operators is bent on controlling both our major political parties . . . .
>
> The competitive price system is indispensable to liberty and material progress. It is threatened not only by the growth of Big Brother government, but by the pressure of monopolies -- including union monopolies . . . .
>
> No superstition has more effectively bewitched America's Liberal elite than the fashionable concepts of world government, the United Nations, internationalism, international atomic pools, etc. . . . It would make greater sense to grant independence to each of our 48 states than to surrender U. S. sovereignty to a world organization.

From the perspective of more than eight years, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein came to a conclusion basically the same as that of John Fischer:

> In a sense, the National Review is to the contemporary Extreme Right Wing what the New Masses was to the Extreme Left Wing three or four decades ago . . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> . . . Buckley is one of the leading fellow travelers of the American Radical Right. On a number of subjects, his own political thinking and the National Review's line fall just short of Radical Right. (Op. cit., p. 241)

On the other hand, while NR is on the recommended reading list of the John Birch Society, Buckley and his magazine have become increasingly critical of the Society. At first limiting their attacks to Welch and avoiding criticism of JBS rank and file, Buckley and NR have reluctantly come to admit that Welch and the Society are inseparable, and the October 19, 1965, issue of the magazine features a critical symposium on the Society, concluding that it "is a grave liability to the conservative and anti-Communist cause."

In addition to Editor Buckley and Publisher William Rusher, NR's masthead features James Burnham, who contributes a regular column, Frank S. Meyer, a frequent contributor, and William F. Rickenbacker, as well as a number of Associates and Contributors. A regular feature of the Bulletin is M. Stanton Evans's one-page column, "At Home." Each of these is active in various other right-wing movements.

The subscription rate is $16 a year for both magazine and newsletter (or $9 and $7 respectively), unchanged since the beginning of 1963. It had been $8 a year for the weekly magazine until October, 1958; then $8 and $7 for each of the two formats from that date through 1962. Advertising is carried. Published at Meriden, Conn.; editorial offices in New York City.

New Guard

The monthly magazine of Young Americans for Freedom (Sec 1 - ORG), New Guard began publishing with its March, 1961 issue. Throughout, it has used an 8 1/2 x 11" magazine format, and it currently has a standard length of 26 pages. Editor since early 1965 has been David Franke, a former editorial assistant at National Review and still listed on the NR masthead as a Contributor. He was preceded by Carol Bauman (Sec 2 - IND), whose husband was YAF National Chairman from 1962 to 1965.

In addition to reportage of YAF activities around the country, the magazine regularly features a newsletter-style "Washington Report," a one-page "Report on the Left," and a number of book reviews, as well as feature articles. Titles of some of the latter in recent months have been: "The Republican More Like JFK Than Any Other" (Ronald Reagan, according to Lee Edwards); "The Princeton Popular Front" ("Vietnam has replaced Spain and the New Left has succeeded the Old Left, but nothing is really new on the campus"); "What's Happened to Patriotism?" ("we have debunked the hero to make room for the jerk"); and "The Fascist Threat to America" (a two-part article by the editor of a new conservative publication, Rally; it contends that "The thrust of modern liberalism's economic and political programs is toward an indigenous fascism").

The subscription rate was $3 a year through 1962, has been $4 since then. Advertising is carried. While it announced that an application for 2nd-Class status was pending in February, 1963, New Guard evidently dropped it until the Spring of 1965 when it was again applied for, and obtained in September, 1965. Published at Washington, D. C.

Through to Victory

Describing itself as "The Conservative Monthly Publication for Lutheran Laymen for Christ and Country," this is the outlet of Rev. Paul C. Neipp, pastor of Our Saviour's Lutheran Church, in Ridgecrest, Calif. Neipp, who has had a local radio program since 1956, has also written a number of anti-Communist tracts

and, in 1962, published Let's Take the Offensive, which called for the formation of anti-communist study groups and recommended a wide variety of rightist materials, including Keynes at Harvard, Dan Smoot's series on the Council on Foreign Relations, the Birch Society's set, Twelve Candles, the Courtneys' book on Gen. Walker, and Dean Clarence Manion's Key to Peace. Neipp calls the Birch Society's 1960 "Scoreboard Issue", A World Gone Crazy, a "must for every American." A more recent Neipp publication, Win Now or Lose All (published in 1964 and featuring a Foreword by John Noble and a Preface by Karl Prussion), claims that the author has been "instrumental in starting over 700 pro-American, anti-Communism study groups throughout the United States and Canada."

Through to Victory began publication in March, 1961, and used an eight-page, 8 1/2 x 11" format through 1962, changing then to a tabloid newspaper format, still of eight pages. A good deal of material is reprinted from other sources and special attention is paid to allegations of left-wing activities in the churches -- thus, one issue contained a lead article titled, "Has Communist Thought Penetrated the Churches?"; another page headed, "Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party has plans to use The National Council of Churches . . ."; and still another item titled, "The Making of a Left-Wing Parson."

The subscription rate has been $2 a year since the shift to a tabloid format; it was $1 prior to that. It has had 2nd-Class status since late 1961. No outside advertising seems to be carried. Published at Ridgecrest, Calif.

Top of the News

This is the weekly transcript of the Monday-through-Friday broadcast commentaries of the late Fulton Lewis, Jr., now being continued by his son, Fulton Lewis III. It began publication in 1959. The format is that of an eight-page newsletter, with the back page frequently being devoted to the reprint of a speech or article. (These often run for several consecutive issues. Thus, reprinted this year have been two speeches by Richard Nixon, each running for five issues; one by Roger Freeman (Sec 2 - IND), which ran for eight issues; one by right-wing editor-columnist Jenkin Lloyd Jones, which ran for five; and an article from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, which ran for five issues.)

Some of the Lewis viewpoint and flavor is reflected in such excerpts as his reference to Newsweek magazine as "the mouthpiece of the ultra-liberal Washington Post and the extreme left-wing establishment generally" (11/30/64), his post-election comment in 1964 that "Senator Goldwater had just about everything stacked against him in this campaign, by the liberal left wing of the Republican Party and their cohorts among the big money powers that be who have controlled the party for years" (11/4/64), and his characterization of Presidential messages to Congress as "carefully calculated exercises in twisted interpretations, carefully disguised half-truths, tortured mathematics and accounting which, if used by individuals in private enterprise would have the prisons overflowing to the flick of a pig's tail" (1/19/66).

The subscription rate is $15 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at Washington, D. C.

U. S. A.

Begun in 1954, this is the expensive newsletter published by Alice Widener, conservative columnist and author of Behind the U. N. Front (Bookmailer, 1955). In her book, Mrs. Widener charged, among other things, that "in 1945, members of the Socialist International flocked to the UN with a scheme to use it as a socialist laboratory." The international organization has continued to be a favorite target. Thus, in March, 1963 U. S. A. asked

> Are we willing to hand over determination of our foreign policy and economic policies to the United Nations? We should make up our minds about this while there is still time to do so. Otherwise, we'll wake up some morning to find ourselves subjects, not citizens, of an imposed supergovernment . . . .

In an October, 1964 issue and in an appearance on Manion Forum that December, she warned against use of the General Assembly to by-pass the Security Council (as under the so-called "Uniting for Peace" approach sponsored by the U. S. in 1951):

> If you establish the General Assembly as a legislative and appropriative body, there is no limit to the amount of money it can spend . . . .

And in an issue of May, 1966, U. S. A. charged

> If things go on as they are now, U. N. Headquarters might possibly mark the spot where the advanced nations committed suicide after having submitted to bankrupting political blackmail by the backward nations.

Technically a bi-weekly, U. S. A. often appears less frequently with "combined" issues. The subscription rate is $20 a year. No advertising is carried. Published at New York, N. Y.

The Wanderer

Characterizing itself simply as "A National Catholic Weekly," this is a successor to the German language, Der Wanderer, which was published from 1867 until 1957 (the English language edition was begun in 1931). Since the turn of the century the publication has been under the editorship of the Matt family -- the late Joseph L. Matt until his retirement in 1963, and his two sons, Alphonso and Walter, since. It utilizes a standard newspaper format, usually running to ten pages in length. As a part of its standing head it quotes from Pope Pius the XI: "No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist."

Conservative columnists regularly utilized by The Wanderer include William F. Buckley, Jr., Gen. Thomas A. Lane, Robert Morris, and Edith Kermit

Roosevelt. Material from the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation (Sec 1 - ORG) is also regularly reprinted. The weekly's commitment to the right wing is reflected in its post-election comment in a 1964 "Christmas greeting" to subscribers:

> . . . the well-organized Liberal Establishment, assisted by the entrenched forces of self-serving office-holders, money lenders, and labor barons, and the dictators of so-called "public opinion" in press, rostrum and pulpit, have once more succeeded in maintaining their strangle-hold on American freemen.

The Wanderer also sponsors an annual conference, featuring this year, among others, Phyllis Schlafly (author of The Gravediggers and Strike From Space), Birch Society Endorser Fr. Ferdinand Falque, and Birch Society Council members S. J. Conner and Fr. Francis Fenton. Items in a recent issue (7/28/66) included: "NAACP's New Push In Movies, TV" ("How much more representation do they want?"); "Another 'Peace' Convocation" (editorial on a "Pacem in Terris" conference in Belmont, Calif. -- "From the Papal program of restoring the world to Christ and His Kingship, to the San Francisco program of 'exploring ways to make the world safe for diversity . . .' is a far cry indeed!"); "Mississippi March Rated Another Civil Rights Flop" (by syndicated columnist George Schuyler); and "Road to Anarchy" (a guest editorial from the Los Angeles Tidings -- "The pity is that the legitimate and laudable objectives of the civil rights movement tend to be obscured by the type of methods employed to attain them").

The subscription rate has been $5 a year since the beginning of 1963, was $4 a year prior. Advertising is carried. Published at St. Paul, Minn.

Washington News Beat

This monthly has just announced its termination, after fourteen years of publication. It began in 1952 as a newsletter, The Lowdown on Farm Affairs, edited and published by Glenn Martz (Sec 2 - IND), who had been on the staff of the American Farm Bureau Federation. In 1961 it changed its focus, format and name, becoming Washington News Beat, "An independent magazine . . . devoted to behind the headline news." Running 12 to 16 pages in length, it always made use of a considerable amount of reprint material.

When Martz retired, he was replaced by an associate, McLellan Smith, who served as editor thru the final issue in June, 1966.

The far-right character of News Beat's viewpoint was reflected in such items as its sympathetic report on the John Birch Society (Sept., 1964), its charge that "All . . . elements /of the Democratic Party/, from the White House down, are in the hands now of people whom /Walter/ Reuther is controlling or can control" (July, 1964), and its attack on the National Council of Churches "for its adherence to, and propagandizing of, collectivist doctrines repugnant to our existence as free men" (Sept., 1965).

The subscription rate was $5 a year, and unexpired subscriptions have been taken over by Human Events (see above, p.15), with which News Beat had earlier had a joint subscription arrangement. No advertising was carried. Published at Warrenton, Va., since October, 1964; Fredericksburg, Va. prior to that.

Washington Report

This is the weekly newsletter "analysis of developments affecting the nation's security" prepared and published by the American Security Council (see Sec 4 - Special Report #1). Prior to June of this year the Managing Editor was DeWitt S. Copp, co-author of Betrayal at the U. N. (Devin-Adair, 1961 -- a book about the Bang-Jensen case); now Managing Editor is Frank J. Johnson, author of No Substitute for Victory (Regnery, 1962). Also on the staff and a frequent contributor is Adm. Chester Ward (Sec 3 - IND), co-author of Strike from Space.

In format, Washington Report is 8 1/2" x 11" in size, usually only four pages in length, and generally devoted to a single topic. It consistently follows what is best called "the hard line" in foreign policy, regarding peaceful coexistence as undesirable if not impossible and opposing such measures as the nuclear test ban of 1963. Articles during the past twelve months have included: "The New Campus Left" (by National College Young Republican Chairman Tom Pauken); "The Reality of East-West Trade" ("the Americans are building bridges but the tollgates are all on Communist territory"); "The Turning of the Tide" (in Vietnam -- "We are beginning to win. We dare not lose"); "Communist Plans for Guerilla Warfare in the U. S," and "The Primacy of Power" (a reply to Sen. Fulbright).

The subscription rate is $12 a year. No advertising is carried. Published in Chicago, but prepared by the Washington Bureau of ASC.

Weekly Crusader

Another publication of Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade (see also Christian Crusade magazine, above, p. 10), this weekly began publication in November, 1960. It is generally eight pages in length and includes as a regular feature, "Around the World," a column by Cuban refugee Fernando Penabaz, who is also Hargis's official biographer. Sample headlines during late 1965 included: "The Consular Treaty . . . Another 'PEACE' Move"; "The Left Coalition" (Walter Reuther, Martin Luther King, and the National Council of Churches), "Government by Computer" (reprinted from Edward Hunter's monthly publication, Tactics); "Reds Plan to Exploit Pope Paul's U. N. Visit" and "Freedom of Speech vs. 'Fairness Doctrine.'"

The subscription rate has been $10 a year throughout. No advertising is carried. Published at Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Western Destiny

This represented a short-lived effort to publish philo-

sophical bigotry in a pseudo-intellectual format. It featured a quotation from Nietzsche on its masthead and proclaimed such figures as Oswald Spengler, Richard Wagner, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain as "representative of the giants of the West whose titanic message Western Destiny will spread." Its associate editors were, as the first issue proudly noted, formerly connected with Right, a publication of the 1955-60 period which has since been characterized by the Anti-Defamation League as "a clearing house for news and information about anti-Semitic activities." (Forster and Epstein, Danger on the Right, p. 79) The format utilized by Western Destiny was that of an 18-page magazine, on heavy paper. Sample article titles included: "Segregation and Evolution"; "The Hidden Bonds Between Communism and Liberalism"; "Repatriation: Solution to a Problem"; and "Spotlight on the Culture Distorters" (a recurring theme of the magazine).

Western Destiny began publication in mid-1964 but this year "suspended" and turned its list of subscribers over to American Mercury (see above, p. 9 -- in addition many of Western Destiny's "Contributing Editors" are now listed by the Mercury).

The subscription rate was $4 a year. Ads for books and other publications were carried. At first editorial offices were in Milwaukee, Wisc. and business offices in Sausalito, Calif.; after March, 1965, both were combined in Los Angeles.

Western Voice

This is the long-time weekly paper of the late Harvey H. Springer, the "cowboy evangelist." Of Springer, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, of the Anti-Defamation League, wrote, in 1952: "Springer mixes personal glamor with fundamentalist doctrine, spicing the whole with hate and bigotry." They noted that, "For more than a decade Springer was part of the nationalist anti-Semitic movement," but, "some years ago," had "turned to anti-Catholicism as a more lucrative way to make a living." "In addition to attacking Jews and Catholics, he has assailed Negroes, liberals, aliens, labor unions, and the Federal Council of Churches . . . ." (The Troublemakers, pp. 127, 128 and 133-4) He worked closely with Rev. Carl McIntire, both in the American Council of Christian Churches and the International Council of Christian Churches, and spoke at McIntire's "Christian Admiral" hotel conferences.

Western Voice, which utilized a tabloid format, evidently began publication in mid-1937 and received second-class postal status in 1941. "Straight Talk," the column of Birch Society Council member Tom Anderson, is a frequent feature of the paper. Sample headlines have included "Catholic Plunder of the U. S. Treasury" and "Black Muslims Train Teenagers to Kill" (5/21/64); "Presbyterians Elect Negro 'Fronter' as Moderator" (7/23/64); "Inter-Racial Riots and the National Council of Churches" (9/3/64); "Evolution - Fact or Fancy?" (9/24/64); and "Why Stay in the U.N.?" (1/14/65). Ads for anti-Catholic literature from various sources frequently appear.

The subscription rate has been $2 a year since August, 1962; was $1 prior to that. Advertising is carried. Published at Englewood, Colorado.

PERIODICALS ON THE RIGHT -- A Supplement

(This updates and adds information to Special Report #19, dated 9/20/66; it should be inserted in the Directory immediately following that report.)

In the months since the preparation of the initial Special Report on this subject, 1966 circulation figures have become available for periodicals with second-class postal status. This information has been gathered on virtually all of the periodicals included in Table 1 (page 2, above), plus five additional periodicals: The Fact Finder, of We, the People!'s Harry Everingham; Herald of Freedom, edited and published by Frank Capell, the Birch Society's weekly Review of the News; Edward Hunter's monthly newsletter, Tactics; and a West Coast publication, Tocsin. (See pages 25-6, below, for brief descriptions of these.) Three of the periodicals listed in Table 1 have been dropped: Washington News Beat and Western Destiny had both ceased publication even prior to the earlier report (see pages 20-1); and the National Chronicle has been dropped as being a local publication (with circulation less than 1,000).

Total Growth Pattern

Average annual circulation figures for these 32 periodicals are provided in Table 6 on the following page. Figures for 1964 thru 1966 are given to provide a comparison of last year with the year before. The composite pattern (i.e., total circulation) reflects continued growth in 1966, but at a substantially less rapid rate than that of the year before. Thus, in the year that included the Goldwater campaign and its after-effects, composite circulation grew by 15 per cent; but over the succeeding year the rate of growth had dropped to 7.5 per cent.

Despite this "slowing down" of the growth rate, and even some indications that the rate may slow down still further this year, it should be noted that right-wing periodicals continue to outstrip those on the left, both in total quantity and in growth rate. As was done in the initial report, figures on various left-of-center periodicals are provided in Table 7, at the top of page 24. Ranging from The Reporter to Political Affairs, both in viewpoint and in size, these continued to reflect a growth rate significantly below that of the publications in Table 6 -- increasing average paid circulation just over 7 per cent between 1964 and 1965 and less than 4 per cent the following year. Similarly, both Liberty Letter and The Defender have passed New Republic in size; American Opinion, the Birch Society monthly, has now passed The Progressive as well as The Nation, and the right wing can still claim twice as many periodicals as the liberals in the more-than-20,000 category. In short, it continues to be true that "right-wing periodicals . . . enjoy far wider circulation than left-of-center periodicals."

Rankings

With one exception, the ten periodicals which were top-ranked in 1965, also headed the list for 1966, though with several changes in order. Human Events dropped to third place, and Liberty Letter took the top spot. The Defender, which has recently lost its editor of the last two years, G. H. Montgomery (see page 13), continues to emphasize fundamentalist religion, but with references to "the grip of Communistic and Socialistic propaganda, evolution in education and false religion in the churches." (December, 1966, issue) It also continues to exhibit as rapid a circulation rise as Liberty Letter and has taken over the second position. Rev. Carl McIntire's Christian Beacon and Rev. Billy James Hargis's monthly Christian Crusade have almost switched places, the former moving into fifth position while the latter dropped to seventh. William F. Buckley's National Review and the totally unlike Councilor of Ned Touchstone each remained in the same relative position (third and sixth respectively); while American Opinion and the Dan Smoot Report each moved up one place (the latter doing so despite a downturn in circularion). Finally, Common Sense continued the decline that set in with Conde McGinley's death and dropped from 7th to 16th place in the rankings. Reflecting a hard-core of bigotry on the right-wing, Gerald L. K. Smith's magazine, The Cross and the Flag, moved into tenth position.

Indicators for 1967

As has been noted, the figures in all the preceding analysis are averages of paid circulation. These have been favored as more "firm" figures, not reflecting any possible "seasonal" factors, etc. Second-class periodicals, however, also report their paid circulation for the issue closest to the time of filing, i. e. September or October of each year. These can be used as tentative indicators of the direction in which circulation is moving at that time. (A September figure above the annual average would indicate growth, one below it would indicate decline -- assuming no "seasonal" variable, and ignoring the possibility of a "reversal" of the trend in the months after September.) This sort of comparison is made for the more important periodicals in Table 8 on page 25. For the 17 periodicals covered, about one-third indicate continued growth, and nearly two-thirds a decline. The composite total indicates a very slight increase.

Combining the comparisons in Table 8 with the data furnished by Table 6, it is possible to group the various right-wing periodicals according to growth patterns. Four reflected fairly general growth throughout: The Defender and The Councilor showing the most rapid increase, American Opinion showing a steady, but less spectacular rise (as perhaps befits a $10-a-year publication), and New Guard a nearly steady growth, marred only by a temporary decline between 1965 and 1966.

Two publications, Liberty Letter and National Review, appear to have "peaked" in the year just past, while several others seem to have done so in 1965 (i.e., following the "surge" of the Goldwater campaign): Human Events, The Dan Smoot Report, The Wanderer, The Cross and the Flag, and Western Voice. Reflecting

TABLE 6

AVERAGE PAID CIRCULATION OF RIGHT-WING PERIODICALS
WITH 2ND CLASS POSTAL STATUS, ANNUALLY, 1964-1966
(in order of 1966 rankings)

	1964	1965	1966
Liberty Letter (Monthly)	26,528	92,379	174,295
The Defender (Monthly)	53,289	82,385	126,587
National Review (Weekly)	72,903	86,273	97,024
Human Events (Weekly)	114,004	123,435	95,593
Christian Beacon (Weekly)	66,495	50,000	84,700
The Councilor (Semi-Monthly)	27,070	60,496	73,140
Christian Crusade (Monthly)	98,609	81,000	71,500
American Opinion (Monthly)	25,453	35,400	43,262
Dan Smoot Report (Weekly)	33,178	33,289	31,000
The Cross and the Flag (Monthly)	29,339	29,481	28,758
The Wanderer (Weekly)	21,140	33,055	27,191
The Citizen (Monthly)	33,616	30,490	23,839
New Guard (Monthly)	10,000[a]	21,628	20,978
Through to Victory (Monthly)	11,200	18,050	20,504
Freedom Press (Semi-Monthly)	16,849	19,498	18,313
Common Sense (Semi-Monthly)	82,000	52,000	15,000
American Mercury (Quarterly)	27,272	27,975	15,600
Western Voice (Weekly)	13,185	17,795	11,023
Tocsin (Weekly)	11,000	11,837	-b-
Life Lines (3 Times a Week)	17,450	10,600	9,750
Free Enterprise (Monthly)	9,200	6,162	7,000
Review of the News (Weekly)	-c-	-c-	5,555
Modern Age (Quarterly)	5,178	5,328	5,411
Weekly Crusader	3,865	4,600	5,150
Richard Cotten's Proof Sheet* (Monthly)	-d-	4,200	5,026
Fact Finder (Semi-Monthly)	5,900	5,440	4,800
Augusta Courier (Weekly)	6,000	6,700	4,530
Herald of Freedom (Bi-Weekly)	2,280	4,400	4,200
Dawn (Monthly)	6,935	5,198	3,879
America's Future (Weekly)	3,075	3,250	-e-
Top of the News (Weekly)	1,920	2,094	1,920
Tactics (Monthly)	800	1,000	1,100
Composite Index of Growth:	100.0	115.0	123.6

Notes:
[a] From Standard Periodical Directory, 1964-5.
[b] Suspended publication temporarily in early 1966; 2nd Class status subsequently revoked.
[c] Did not yet have 2nd Class status.
[d] Not yet publishing.
[e] 2nd Class status revoked prior to October.
[*] Formerly Conservative Viewpoint (see page 12).

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, from annual Form 3526 reports filed and published by periodicals with 2nd Class status.

TABLE 7

AVERAGE PAID CIRCULATION OF VARIOUS LEFT OF CENTER PUBLICATIONS, 1964-66

	1964	1965	1966
The Reporter (Fortnightly)	183,661	200,906	205,462
New Republic (Weekly)	108,082	118,528	124,071
Ramparts (Monthly)	15,684*	29,471*	45,362
The Progressive (Monthly)	32,440	36,725	34,410
The Nation (Weekly)	27,800	27,167	29,313
I. F. Stone's Weekly	20,304	22,541	29,150
National Guardian (Weekly)	29,143*	26,200	26,554
SANE World (Monthly)	17,500	19,400	19,300
Minority of One (Monthly)	16,312	16,562	17,438
The Worker (Twice Weekly)	15,436	15,605	14,678
New Leader (Bi-Weekly)	24,990	25,420	10,950
The Independent (Monthly)	14,900	7,782	8,440
Liberation (Monthly)	5,962	7,041	7,673
Monthly Review	8,187	8,238	7,409
New America (Monthly)	5,950	6,350	6,450
Dissent (Quarterly)	3,800	4,736	4,800
Political Affairs (Monthly)	5,000	4,500	4,500
New Politics (Quarterly)	4,550	4,000	4,000
Composite Index of Growth:	100.0	107.3	110.8

Source: Those marked * are from N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory; others are from annual Form 3526 Ownership and Circulation Statement published under Second-Class postal requirements.

a general decline since 1964 are The Citizen and one of the older fixtures of the extremist press, Common Sense. The latter was reporting only 3,000 paid circulation by October, 1966.

Finally, three other right-wing periodicals of importance don't fit any of these categories very well: McIntire's Christian Beacon had been showing steady growth until 1965, when it dropped back, only to increase to a new high in 1966; Hargis's Christian Crusade gives signs of having ended a decline from its 1964 peak; and H. L. Hunt's Life Lines newsletter seems to have ended its decline from a 1963 high.

Conclusions

To the extent that circulation of periodicals is a valid indicator of right-wing strength, the period of spectacular growth of the American right wing seems to have ended, at least for the time being. Several qualifications to that finding need to be emphasized, however.

First, a comparison of data on circulation growth with data on financial growth for earlier years shows that while the patterns are similar, circulation growth is consistently below financial growth in terms of percentage changes. Thus, when data on finances become available for 1965 and 1966, it may well show a larger rate of growth than that reflected in the circulation figures for the two years.

Second, a "slowing down" in the rate of growth is not to be confused with a decline. The circulation figures confirm that the right wing has not "gone away" in the post-Goldwater period, nor even lost ground. On the contrary, it continues to reflect impressive size and durability.

Finally, there is no evidence in the circulation figures that the more "moderate" elements within the right wing are becoming increasingly dominant, and quite a few indications that the opposite may be the case. Liberty Letter has become the leading periodical in terms of circulation, and the even-more extreme The Councilor is threatening to take over the third-ranking spot. Probably of more long-range significance is the continued steady growth of the

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF ANNUAL AVERAGE AND FALL, 1966, CIRCULATION FIGURES

(Circulation in Thousands)

	1965-66 Average	September 1966	Change Reflected
Liberty Letter	174.3	166.2	Decrease
The Defender	126.6	134.6	Increase
The Councilor	73.1	113.8	Increase
Human Events	95.6	91.4	Decrease
National Review	97.0	88.9	Decrease
Christian Beacon	- - 84.7 - - -		Unknown*
Christian Crusade	71.5	75.0	Increase
American Opinion	43.3	44.7	Increase
Dan Smoot Report	31.0	30.6	Decrease
The Cross and the Flag	28.8	28.5	Decrease
The Wanderer	27.2	25.9	Decrease
New Guard	21.0	23.2	Increase
The Citizen	23.8	21.2	Decrease
Freedom Press	18.3	19.5	Increase
Through to Victory	20.5	12.4	Decrease
Life Lines	9.7	9.8	No change
Western Voice	11.0	9.4	Decrease
American Mercury	15.6	7.1	Decrease

*Christian Beacon published only one circulation figure; it is not clear whether it is the average for the preceding twelve months, or the current level.

Birch Society's magazine, American Opinion. While National Review, which has characterized American Opinion's contents as "paranoid and unpatriotic drivel," showed a circulation growth of 12% between 1965 and 1966 (and may have "peaked" in doing so), the Birch magazine's circulation grew by 22% and is evidently still going up.

APPENDIX: Publications mentioned in Supplement but not previously described; in alphabetical order.

Fact Finder

Claiming to be in its "24th Year of Publication," The Fact Finder is actually a pamphlet series. It is edited and published by Harry T. Everingham, who is also President of We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG), and editor of Free Enterprise (see page 14). Like the latter, the pamphlet series frequently plugs the organization. Issued twice a month throughout, The Fact Finder, since 1962, has utilized the format of a single 8 1/2 x 14" sheet folded into an eight-page pamphlet. It has had 2nd Class status since mid-1963. Each pamphlet usually deals with a single topic -- sample titles: "Are They Teaching America's Children to be Marxists?" (3/15/65), "Help Offset U. S. Communist Pressure on the President" (4/30/65), "Home by Home, Americans Must Retake America" (5/15/65), and "U.N. Honors U. S. With 20 Years of Treason" (6/15/65).

The subscription rate has been $4.50 a year since March, 1965 (it was $3.50 prior to that). Published at Chicago through 1965, and now at Phoenix, Arizona.

Herald of Freedom

The Herald of Freedom and Metropolitan Review (to give its full name) is a bi-weekly which began publication in 1962. Its editor and publisher is Frank A. Capell, a long-time professional anti-Communist who boasts that in the late 1930's he headed Westchester County's "Subversive Activities Bureau." He has also written and published several books, including The Strange Death of Marilyn Monroe, Treason Is the Reason ("847 Reasons for Investigating the State Department"), and The Strange Case of Jacob Javits. Capell was in the national news in 1965 as one of the defendants in the Kuchel libel case. After changing a plea of "not guilty" to one of "no contest," he and a co-defendant were fined $500 each and placed on summary probation. (Washington Post 7/20/65. An earlier brush with the law grew out of Capell's wartime job as an investigator for the War Production Board, when he pleaded guilty in 1945, to charges of bribe-taking. N. Y. Times 2/28/65 and Newsweek 3/8/65) In addition to his own publication, Capell is listed as a Contributing Editor by American Mercury. (Winter, 1966, issue)

A four-page newsletter, Herald of Freedom describes itself as a "bi-weekly anti-communist educational

publication and conservative news service." It specializes in the alleged left-wing background of individuals and organizations. Among those attacked in the last two years have been Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Adam Yarmolinsky, and Secretary Robert C. Weaver. In addition to the regular edition, Capell also features a "Religious News Edition," which, he says,

> gives details on matters relating to religion, seeking out suppressed or concealed news, correcting false, distorted or slanted news.

Herald of Freedom has had second-class status at least since early 1963. The subscription rate has been $10 a year since early 1965; was $6 a year prior to that. Published at Staten Island, N. Y. until 1965, and at Zarephath, N. J. since then. No advertising.

Review of the News

The Birch Society's version of a weekly news magazine, Review of the News grew out of two regular "departments" in American Opinion. One, called "Correction, Please!," first appeared in the October, 1962, issue. It takes the form of quotations from the regular press combined with critical comments. The other, a chronological summary of selected news items, had long been a regular feature of American Opinion. In mid-1964 the two features were separated from the monthly magazine and combined in an eight-page weekly newsletter, at the subscription rate of $10 a year, using the title Correction, Please! (See JBS Bulletin, June, 1964) Fourteen months later a further change was announced -- to a magazine format, with Reader's Digest page size, titled The Review of the News. The weekly summary of news items occupied the first 24 pages, the "Correction, Please!" feature the final 8 pages.

The staff overlaps with that of American Opinion: Scott Stanley, Jr., tops the masthead as Editor, Mrs. Welch is Assistant Editor, James J. Drummey and Vincent J. Ryan are News Editors. Francis X. Gannon (who edited both features for American Opinion) is listed as Correction Editor, and, since the beginning of 1966, it has featured an eight-page "Analysis" section by Samuel L. Blumenfeld (the news review was cut to 16 pages).

The subscription rate has continued at $10 a year. The inside-back-cover occasionally carries commercial advertising. Published at Belmont, Mass., it has had 2nd Class status at Boston since March, 1966.

Tactics

A monthly newsletter which began publication in January, 1964. Tactics is an outgrowth of the Anti-Communist Liaison (Sec 1 - ORG). While this organization grew out of a meeting called by Bill James Hargis, its operating chairman was Edward Hunter (Sec 2 - IND). During 1963, it held a two-day strategy seminar, with panels made up of various right-wing speakers. Hunter also continued his periodical mailings to "contacts" -- people described in one as "active in influencing others against communism, and for America's traditional freedoms." One of these letters, in late 1963, announced that Anti-Communist Liaison was going on a subscription basis with Tactics -- designed to "alert its subscribers to propaganda booby traps and psychological warfare devices in the cold war that are intended to entrap and ultimately destroy us . . . ."

The first issue appeared, as noted, the following January, and Anti-Communist Liaison was incorporated under Virginia law the same month. Incorporators and initial directors were Hunter, conservative columnist Edith Kermit Roosevelt, and a Mrs. William Potts, of Tucson, Ariz. An initial stock issue of 5,217 shares (par value of $1 each) was divided between them, with 50 shares going to Edith Kermit Roosevelt (listed as President), 150 to Mrs. Potts, and the remainder to Hunter. The publication itself utilizes an 8 1/2 x 11" format and a promotional mailing of October, 1964, described it as:

> not intended to convert anyone. It is intended for people already on our side. Its purpose is to provide tactical know-how and guidance both as regards actions to be taken and actions that may appear attractive but are proved in effect.

The subscription rate is $10 a year. Though advertising rates are available, most issues don't carry any. Published at Arlington, Va.

Tocsin

Formerly styling itself "The West's Leading Anti-Communist Weekly," but since 1964 sub-titled only "The Weekly Intelligence Report," Tocsin began publication in mid-1960. Publisher and Editor throughout have been Charles Fox and George H. Keith. Utilizing a newsletter format, Tocsin specialized in the alleged Communist and Communist-front affiliations of people, using publications of the House Un-American Activities Committee and similar sources, together with listings from the press and from left-wing organizations. As a former graduate assistant at the University of California, Fox has given special attention to the campus-oriented organizations of the "New Left."

On the other hand, Tocsin has been highly critical of the Birch Society, characterizing it as "Anti-Communism . . . Off Target." (Tocsin 5/8/63) Of other right-wing organizations, the publication has probably been closest to Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and Fox appeared on the faculty of Schwarz "Schools" in Chicago and Detroit in the Summer of 1965. While Tocsin suspended publication in early 1966, it resumed a few months later, as a bi-weekly. It has lost its second-class postal status, however, at least as of October, 1966. Circulation was reportedly down to about 8,000 by the beginning of 1967.

The subscription rate for Tocsin was $5 a year until April, 1963; $10 a year thereafter. No advertising was carried. It was published in Berkeley until late 1963, in Oakland thereafter. It obtained 2nd Class postal status at the end of 1961, which was revoked during 1966.

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TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF ANNUAL AVERAGE AND FALL, 1966, CIRCULATION FIGURES

(Circulation in Thousands)

	1965-66 Average	September 1966	Change Reflected
Liberty Letter	174.3	166.2	Decrease
The Defender	126.6	134.6	Increase
The Councilor	73.1	113.8	Increase
Human Events	95.6	91.4	Decrease
National Review	97.0	88.9	Decrease
Christian Beacon	- - 84.7 - - -		Unknown*
Christian Crusade	71.5	75.0	Increase
American Opinion	43.3	44.7	Increase
Dan Smoot Report	31.0	30.6	Decrease
The Cross and the Flag	28.8	28.5	Decrease
The Wanderer	27.2	25.9	Decrease
New Guard	21.0	23.2	Increase
The Citizen	23.8	21.2	Decrease
Freedom Press	18.3	19.5	Increase
Through to Victory	20.5	12.4	Decrease
Life Lines	9.7	9.8	No change
Western Voice	11.0	9.4	Decrease
American Mercury	15.6	7.1	Decrease

*Christian Beacon published only one circulation figure; it is not clear whether it is the average for the preceding twelve months, or the current level.

Birch Society's magazine, American Opinion. While National Review, which has characterized American Opinion's contents as "paranoid and unpatriotic drivel," showed a circulation growth of 12% between 1965 and 1966 (and may have "peaked" in doing so), the Birch magazine's circulation grew by 22% and is evidently still going up.

APPENDIX: Publications mentioned in Supplement but not previously described; in alphabetical order.

Fact Finder

Claiming to be in its "24th Year of Publication," The Fact Finder is actually a pamphlet series. It is edited and published by Harry T. Everingham, who is also President of We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG), and editor of Free Enterprise (see page 14). Like the latter, the pamphlet series frequently plugs the organization. Issued twice a month throughout, The Fact Finder, since 1962, has utilized the format of a single 8 1/2 x 14" sheet folded into an eight-page pamphlet. It has had 2nd Class status since mid-1963. Each pamphlet usually deals with a single topic -- sample titles: "Are They Teaching America's Children to be Marxists?" (3/15/65), "Help Offset U. S. Communist Pressure on the President" (4/30/65), "Home by Home, Americans Must Retake America" (5/15/65), and "U.N. Honors U. S. With 20 Years of Treason" (6/15/65).

The subscription rate has been $4.50 a year since March, 1965 (it was $3.50 prior to that). Published at Chicago through 1965, and now at Phoenix, Arizona.

Herald of Freedom

The Herald of Freedom and Metropolitan Review (to give its full name) is a bi-weekly which began publication in 1962. Its editor and publisher is Frank A. Capell, a long-time professional anti-Communist who boasts that in the late 1930's he headed Westchester County's "Subversive Activities Bureau." He has also written and published several books, including The Strange Death of Marilyn Monroe, Treason Is the Reason ("947 Reasons for Investigating the State Department"), and The Strange Case of Jacob Javits. Capell was in the national news in 1965 as one of the defendants in the Kuchel libel case. After changing a plea of "not guilty" to one of "no contest," he and a co-defendant were fined $500 each and placed on summary probation. (Washington Post 7/20/65. An earlier brush with the law grew out of Capell's wartime job as an investigator for the War Production Board, when he pleaded guilty in 1945, to charges of bribe-taking. N. Y. Times 2/28/65 and Newsweek 3/8/65) In addition to his own publication, Capell is listed as a Contributing Editor by American Mercury (Winter, 1966, issue)

A four-page newsletter, Herald of Freedom describes itself as a "bi-weekly anti-communist educational

(replaces entry dated 5/14/62)

Sec 2 - IND
8/26/63

PHELPS, JUSTICE (Marlin Theophelus)

Phoenix, Arizona

Former Justice, Arizona State Supreme Court 1949-1960; "twice [1954 and 1959] alter nated as Chief Justice."

Born in Tennessee in 1880; law degree from Vanderbilt; began practice in Arizona in 1913; was Judge of the Superior Court in Phoenix from 1923 to 1949, when he went on State's Supreme Court. (Who's Who, 1962-63 and 6/24/60 statement before Senate Ap propriations Committee on mutual security appropriations)

Member, National Council, John Birch Society (1962 brochure) -- also on the Commi of Judges for the Society's "Impeach Warren" Essay Contest (White Book, 1961), and apparently President of the Phoenix chapter of the Society (see 2/19/62 letter from Se Goldwater to Rev. Duncan Howlett)

State Co-Chairman, National Committee for Economic Freedom (Sec 1 - ORG) (Ame ican Progress, Jan.-Feb., 1963)

Member, National Committee, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (Sec 1 - ORG) (Facts on Foreign Aid, 8/12/63)

Member, National Advisory Committee, Hargis' Christian Crusade (Sec 4 - Special Report #11) (1962 brochure)

Member, National Advisory Board, We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG) (1962 brochure)

Director, Citizens Information Center (Phoenix) (July, 1962 C. I. C. Bulletin)

Served on Awards Jury for Freedoms Foundation, 1954, (Who's Who, 1962-63) (see S 4 - Special Report #12, "Freedoms Foundation")

Selected Quotations:

-- "Today the United States Supreme Court decrees with whom we shall associate -- not only in our schools but also in our neighborhoods -- by declaring null and void all restrictions in deeds of conveyance relating to race or color. This is true notwithstanding the fact that it is the use to which we may put something we own that constitu property . . . ." (10/31/59 speech in Phoenix, reprinted -- probably without permissio in The Cross and the Flag, Feb., 1960)

--"The first outright defection from the principles embodied in the Constitution and f 10 amendments as adopted was the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment . . . providing for a tax on incomes from all sources. . . When the income tax amendment is repeale these frills, this waste, will go, too, and a lot of bureaucrats will cease to dictate th policies of our Government." (Ibid.)

--"I am making a study of the Charter of the United Nations in an attempt to analyze and interpret its meaning and . . . I consider it to be the result of a communistic conspiracy more dangerous to our national security than Societ Russia is today . . ."(Ibid.)

--"We are in greater peril today from dangers within than we were from dangers beyond our borders when German guns were thundering at the gates of Paris and the flower of our youth dying upon the battlefields of France." (6/24/60 testimony for Citizens Foreign Aid Committee --against foreign aid -- before Senate Appropriations Committee)

--"Until within the past thirty years the Federal Constitution was a living vital governmental document recognized, respected, and revered as the organic law of the land. . . /Today/ it has become in many respects a dead letter insofar as the administration of our Federal Government is concerned. (Ibid.)

--"Gentlemen, can you not see that the course we now pursue leads eventually to world government under a Godless dictatorship?" (Ibid.)

In an interview late in 1961, Phelps indicated to reporter Chalmers Roberts of the Washington Post that "he believes American negotiation with the Soviet Union equals appeasement and that this country should sign no disarmament agreement regardless of any inspection or control measures it might include. Phelps is against the United States in the U. N., the U. N. itself, all foreign aid, public housing and the income tax. He would send American troops into Cuba to destroy Fidel Castro. He thinks the Federal Budget ought to go down to $40 billion . . . ." (Washington Post 12/20/61)

(Replaces Philbrick page dated 6/27/62)

PHILBRICK, HERBERT A., Rye Beach, N. H.

Sec 2 - IND
9/26/62

Newspaper columnist, broadcaster, author, lecturer and general store operator.

Spent 9 years (1940-1949) in Communist Party before testifying in trial of 11 top communists for violation of the Smith Act. At that time his role as a counter-spy for the FBI was revealed. This story resulted in a book, I Led Three Lives (McGraw-Hill, 1952), and a TV series based on Philbrick's experiences.

Regular member of "faculty," Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (GRI Special Report #2)

Chairman, National Advisory Council, All-American Conference to Combat Communism (September, 1962, letterhead)

Vice-Chairman, Council Against Communist Aggression (May, 1962 letterhead)

Member: Board of Trustees, American Institute (1962 press release of Christian Anti-Communism Crusade)
Board of Advisors, Crusade Against Communism (Ibid.)

February and March, 1960, issues of News and Views, published by the Church League of America, severe right-wing critic of the National Council of Churche were wholly devoted to a Philbrick article, "World Order Study Conference—Moscow's Mouthpiece," in which he wrote: ". . . the 'peace' propaganda now being distributed to the local churches by the National Council of Churches is, in my opinion, the slickest, neatest, trickiest, and the most insideous /sic/ I have ever seen. On every fundamental issue it agrees with the current line of Soviet foreign policy." (Two hour-long tapes by Philbrick, "Communism in the United States" and "I Led Three Lives," are distributed by the Chur ch League.

Has served on the faculty of the Portland, Oregon, Freedom Center which states that "LIBERAL PROGRAMS are identical with DOMESTICATED COMMUNISM." (1962 brochure) Philbrick also saluted the Freedom Center newspaper, The American Eagle, as "the new voice of truth and freedom." (American Eagle February, 1962)

Following Newsweek 12/4/61 article on radical right, Philbrick announced a bo cott of the magazine, stating "When Newsweek attacks Communists rather than anti-Communists we will consider handling it again." (American Eagle Feb., 1

Has spoken at Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas; and the National Education Program there distributes a Philbrick speech titled "How Communists Control Thoughts, Attitudes." (April 7, 1958)

Banquet Speaker, Greater New York Freedom Forum, June, 1962, held by National Freedom Education Center of King's College (Program).

(Group Research, Inc.)

PITTMAN, R. CARTER, Dalton, Georgia

Born October 8, 1898; B.A., University of Georgia, 1922; L.L.B., Columbia University, 1927; admitted to Georgia Bar, 1927; member, Cherokee Circuit, Georgia and American Bar Associations and Federation of Insurance Counsel. (Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory 95th annual edition, 1963, Summit, N. J., vol. 1)

President and Director, North Georgia Oil Company; President and Director, Darnell Milling Company; Vice President and Director, Southern Wholesalers, Inc.; Secretary, Treasurer, and Director, Dalton Ice Company; Treasurer and Director, Paramount Dairies, Inc.; Secretary and Director, Dalton Poultry Company; Director, Crown Cotton Mills; Director, Bank of Dalton. (Poor's, 1963)

First President and currently Vice-President, States' Rights Council of Georgia. In this capacity, he also serves as a member of the editorial advisory board of The Citizen, official journal of the (White) Citizens' Councils of America. (Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 6/10/62, as reprinted in Congressional Record, 6/14/62, p.A-

Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society (1962 brochure)

Board of Policy, Liberty Lobby (6/27/63 letterhead)

Board of Directors, Congress of Freedom (Summit, Miss. Sun, 4/18/63)

National Legislative Committee of Freedom Lobby, the legislative branch of the Council for Individual Freedom (Dawn, special supplement c. 1961)

Committee on Publications, Independent Bar Association. (Law Today, Summer, 1963 The Independent Bar Association was formed to represent lawyers with "a strongly constitutional viewpoint," i.e., those who support the Bricker Amendment, the Connally Reservation, and the amendment to limit peacetime Federal income taxes to 25%. (IBA brochure)

Author, "Equality v. Liberty: The Eternal Conflict," which first appeared in the August, 1960, Journal of the American Bar Association and was later reprinted and distributed by the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government. In it, Pittman argues that "the specious propaganda that all men are created equal, and that there are not such differences between whites and Negroes as are significant for educational and social purposes underlies the entire integration movement." (As explained at Hearings on Civil Rights--Public Accomodations, Committee on Commerce, U. S. Senate, 88th Congress, Part 2, p. 911)

Pittman says he carried on a lengthy correspondence with Robert O. Arnold, Chairman of the Georgia Board of Regents, and University System Chancellor Harmon Caldwell about holding a conference on scientific studies of race at the University of Georgia. He offered $4,000 to finance it. ("I begged it. I have a few men I can call on for money for things like that.") The regents refused permission for the conference. (Atlanta Journal-Constitution, op. cit.)

In January, 1962, Pittman addressed the first Anti-Communist Leadership School of Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade. He urged that a legislative commission be created to supersede the Supreme Court in cases involving loyalty, saying "When a Communist front can manipulate Supreme Court judges, it is time for a change."

(Saturday Evening Post, 4/28/62) On the topic of the inequality of the races, Pittman said, "The Caucasian race is many thousand years ahead of the Negro race in the scale of civilization and white children are several school years ahead of black children in educability." He cited his home town as an example of what he considers the Negroes' lack of ability: "Eighteen thousand white people in Dalton, Ga., give more millionaires to this nation than do the entire 18,000,000 Negroes and mulattoes in the United States." (N. Y. Times, 1/30/62)

Pittman's views have gained circulation through his pamphlet, "Communist Contribution to Equalitarian Dogma and Race-Mixing Turmoil" and through his speeches. A taped version of one of the speeches, used at a meeting of The Anti-Communism Movement of Arizona, includes the statement that "The only difference between the Congolese and the American Negro is that the Congolese eat more white people than those in America." And: "School integration is the scientific hoax of the century, perpetuated through Communist influences." (Arizona Journal, Phoenix, 3/19/62, as reprinted in Congressional Record, 3/27/62, p. A2368)

In July, 1963, Pittman appeared before the Senate Commerce Committee to testify against the bill to eliminate discrimination in public accomodations. At that time, he stated:

> The welfare program of this Government which encourages Negroes to give birth to illegitimate children--and they encourage whites, too--and the pending measures to increase voting by the ignorant dregs of society is 'the way in which demagogs proceed' now as they did 3,000 years ago. (Hearings, op. cit., Part 2, p. 902)

(replaces entry dated 5/14/62)

Sec 2 - IND
8/26/63

PEW, J. HOWARD
Office: Philadelphia; Home: Ardmore, Pa.

Born, Bradford, Pa., 1882; educated at Shadyside Academy, Grove City College, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology; formerly President (1912-47) of Sun Oil Co.; still a Director of Sun Oil and of Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., as well as President of Board of Trustees, Grove City College. (Who's Who, 1962-63) The Pew family has been a frequent financial contributor to Grove City College (cf N. Y. Times 4/18/48)

Pew was listed by Fortune in 1957 as one of America's 76 richest men (in the $75-100 million class). (N. Y. Times 10/28/57) The Pew family owns the controlling interest in Farm Journal, and from 1943-57 this firm also published The Pathfinder magazine.

Anti-New Deal Activities: An ardent foe of the New Deal, Pew was on the National Executive Committee of the American Liberty League, spoke on its behalf and contributed at least $20,000 to it. (George Wolfskill, The Revolt of the Conservatives, Houghton Mifflin, 1962, pp. 59-60, 69-70 and 109; Black Committee, Digest of Data, p. 23)

In addition to his contributions to the League itself, Pew supported a number of other anti-New Deal organizations: The National Economy League ($5,000), the Crusaders ($4,600), the Independent Coalition of American Women, and even the Sentinels of the Republic ($5,000). The latter was an older group which had "card indexed more than 2000 radical propagandists" and included on its Executive Committee John Henry Kirby, a Texas oil-and-lumber man who was not above joining forces with Gerald L. K. Smith in his anti-FDR efforts. (Black Committee, Digest of Data, p. 23 and Wolfskill, op. cit., pp. 176, 195-6, 231 and 241)

Pew's direct contributions to the Republican campaign of 1936 were even larger, exceeding $125,000. He justified them by warning that "the fundamentals of our democratic society, the economic system under which our country has become the greatest in the world, are in jeopardy." (Wolfskill, op. cit. p. 207 and N. Y. Times 10/17/36)

Business Spokesman: During the early 1940's Pew was prominent as a spokesman for organized business. He was, for example, the lead-off witness for the American Petroleum Institute at the 1939 hearings held by the Temporary National Economic Committee, arguing that vertical integration in the petroleum industry is actually a bulwark against monopoly. (See TNEC Hearings)

He was a Chairman of the NAM's National Industrial Information Committee, which carried on a broad public relations program, including sponsorship of a weekly broadcast by Fulton Lewis, Jr. (1942 letter and brochure) From 1939 through 1942 he was a regular speaker at the NAM's annual Congress of American Industry (N. Y. Times 12/7/39 -- "we find that the economic planners are back with us" -- and 12/3/42 -- "unfortunately, the socialistic planners of the New Deal are receiving encouragement [even from some business leaders] ") In 1946 Pew was in the forefront of those demanding an end to OPA and price controls. (For example, in a speech before the newly-organized National Real Estate Foundation. N. Y. Times 4/9/46)

Pew vs National Council of Churches: A leading Presbyterian layman, Pew has been an outspoken critic of his own denomination and of the National Council of Churches. He objects to the church making pronouncements "outside its ecclesiastical sphere" on such issues as economics and civil rights. On a number of occasions he has warned that businessmen are reluctant to give the national Presbyterian church financial support because its pronouncements "frequently coincide with Communist objectives." He maintains, however, that he would be just as opposed to such pronouncements "if they were enunciating my philosophy." (N. Y. Times 2/14/60, 3/20/60 and 3/28/60 and Denver Post 3/20/60. See also Pew's article in Human Events, 5/5/60)

From 1950-55, Pew was a leading figure in the effort to give protestant laymen more voice in the National Council of Churches. He was chairman of the National Laymen's Committee set up by the Council. The Lay Committee counted in its membership some 219 persons at one time or another, including several labor leaders. Probably more significant, though, was Pew's 34-member Executive Committee which included Mrs. Olive Ann Beech (a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education), Jasper Crane (affiliated with several ultra-conservative groups, including Americans for Constitutional Action), Stanley High (of the Reader's Digest), B. E. Hutchinson (see Sec 2-IND), and Henning Prentis (a former Vice-Chairman of Americans for Constitutional Action). The opposition of Pew and the other leadership of the Lay Committee to the issuance by the Council of statements "on current secular affairs" remained an unbridgeable gap, and when the Council proposed to eliminate the Committee by integrating its membership into the regular administrative hierarchy of the Council, the Lay Committee refused and was allowed to lapse. (For details, see Pew's The Chairman's Final Report to the National Lay Committee)

Pew and the Christian Freedom Foundation: In contrast with Pew's claim that he would oppose church pronouncements on "economics and politics" even if he agreed with the views expressed, has been his role as leading financial supporter of Howard Kershner's Christian Freedom Foundation. The Foundation states flatly that it endeavors "to teach economics from a Christian point of view and to show the relationship between Christianity, freedom and economics" and in this case, Pew not only doesn't object, but largely underwrites the operation. (See Sec 1 - ORG for details on the Christian Freedom Foundation and Pew's role in its establishment and operation.)

The J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust: In addition to his personal contributions to right-wing organizations, Pew established in 1957 a philanthropic trust which has the purpose of warning against "Socialism, Welfare-stateism, Marxism, Fascism and any other like forms of government intervention. . . to expose the insidious

influences which have infiltrated many of our channels of publicity . . . . to acquaint the American people with the values of a free market - the dangers of inflation -- the need for a stable monetary standard . . . " (Trust agreement)

The Trust has secured tax-exempt status, allowing Pew to deduct from taxable income his contributions to it. Begun with 5,000 shares of Sun Oil stock, the Trust reported assets in excess of $37,000 at the end of 1962. This valuation is largely based on the cost of the contributed stock to Pew and appears to be greatly below the actual market value since the dividend income from the stock each year is double the reported valuation. (See 990A returns to Internal Revenue Service)

The following table summarizes the Freedom Trust's income and expenses through 1962 (from 990A returns):

		Expenses	
Year	Income*	Trustee Fees	Grants
1957 (10/24 on)	$ 5,450	--	--
1958	5,300	$ 104	$ 6,400
1959	14,313	258	5,000
1960	37,088	413	22,000
1961	54,200	822	51,000
1962	68,143	1,142	59,000

*Includes additions to capital in form of stocks, valued at cost to donor.

The 1962 grants made by the Trust were distributed as follows:

Christian Freedom Foundation	$20,000
Christianity Today	20,000
United Presbyterian Foundation	15,000
American Economic Foundation	2,000
Foundation for Economic Education	2,000

Recent political contributions: Pew has continued to be a major contributor to Republican political campaigns. In 1956 the Gore Committee reported that he gave a total of $48,125 to the Republican effort. (Report of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections) In 1960, reports filed by the various campaign organizations revealed that Pew gave at least $8,000 to the Nixon Presidential effort, at least $3,000 each to the Senate and House campaign committees of the Republicans, and additional amounts to individual campaigns. (Congressional Quarterly) Earlier in the year, Pew had been named by Robert Morris (Sec 1 - IND) as a major contributor to his primary campaign against Sen. Clifford Case, New Jersey Republican. (N Y Times 4/19/60)

Last year Pew again reported $3,000 each to the Republican National Committee and the National Republican Congressional Committee, as well as smaller amounts to individual campaigns. The successful campaign of George Romney for Governor of Michigan reported Pew as a contributor in the amount of $1,250. These contributions do not include amounts given by Pew to such political or lobbying organizations as Americans for Constitutional Action and the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (see below).

A significant side-light of this picture is the fact that, with unfailing regularity, J. Howard's political contributions are matched both in recipient and amount by those of his late brother, Joseph N., Jr. and his two sisters, Mary Ethel and Mrs. Mabel Pew Myrin. Thus, for example, Citizens for Romney reported a total of $5,000 from the four of them.

Organizational Ties - Former:

American Council of Christian Laymen - Pew was listed by a newspaper in 1950 as having contributed to this organization, headed by Verne P. Kaub and perhaps best known for its pamphlet, "How Red Is the Federal Council of Churches?" (Minneapolis Star 11/30/50, cited in Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, Beacon Press, 1953, p. 304. The same source reports that Carl McIntire /Sec 2 - IND/ succeeded in obtaining $50,000 from Pew for some of his "missionary activities.")

Campaign for the 48 States (Sec 1 - ORG) - Pew was a member of the National Advisory Committee. (Brochure of about 1956)

Committee for Constitutional Government - A Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections listed Pew as the source of $4,000 in contributions to the Committee for Constitutional Government in 1940. Subsequently, Pew was also revealed as having co-signed a 1949 telegram urging financial support for America's Future, Inc., at that time closely related to CCG (Buchanan Committee Hearings, Part 5, p. 121)

National Economic Council and Merwin K. Hart - Pew was in attendance at a Waldorf-Astoria dinner arranged by Hart, since deceased, to honor Cecil Palmer, a British lecturer sponsored by the National Economic Council. (Arnold Forster, A Measure of Freedom, Doubleday, 1950, p. 72)

Spiritual Mobilization, Inc. - According to Rev. James Fifield, the head of Spiritual Mobilization, Pew had both contributed and devoted time to "the raising of our budget." (August, 1947 letter quoted in Social Action 5/15/51. See also Roy, op. cit., p. 288)

Organizational Ties - Recent:

John Birch Society - Pew has been on the Editorial Advisory Board of American Opinion from its beginning to date. He is also one of the stockholders of Robert Welch, Inc., the publishing arm of the John Birch Society. (Postal statement filed 9/26/62)

Americans for Constitutional Action - Pew contributed $3,000 to ACA last year. (Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives)

Christian Freedom Foundation - (see above)

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (Sec 1 - ORG) - Pew is on the National Advisory Committee (Facts on Aid, 8/5/63) and is also a major financial contributor (1961 and 1962 reports filed with the Clerk, House of Representatives).

Committee for the Monroe Doctrine (Sec 1 - ORG) - Pew is a member. (6/27/63 letterhead)

Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations - Pew is reported to have contributed $1,000 to the Committee in 1961. (Richard Dudman, Men of the Far Right,

Pyramid Books, 1962, p. 145)

Foundation for Economic Education - Pew is a Trustee (1962-63 listing) and has been at least since 1950-51 (see Buchanan Committee Hearings, Part 8, p. 8). While contributors in recent years are not a matter of public record, the Sun Oil Co. was one of the largest financial supporters of FEE in its early years. (Ibid., p. 12) As noted previously, the Pew Freedom Trust is a current supporter of FEE.

Hall of Free Enterprise exhibit, being sponsored by the American Economic Foundation (Sec 1 - ORG) - Pew is a member of the International Advisory Council for the exhibit. (10/1/62 booklet)

Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (Sec 1 - ORG) - Pew has been a major contributor to ISI: $1,000 each in 1956 and 1957 and $2,000 in 1961. (990A returns to Internal Revenue Service)

Quotes:

"With so many political witch doctors abroad in the land teaching communism, fascism, planned and dictated economies, governmental paternalism and all the others, I urge you to guard well that /great American/ heritage and turn a deaf ear to all their sophistries." (1939 speech to Congress of American Industry)

--"With so many political witch doctors abroad in the land teaching communism, fascism, planned and dictated economies, governmental paternalism, and all the other isms, I urge you to guard well that /great American/ heritage and to turn a deaf ear to all their sophistries." (1963 speech to United Presbyterian Men, reprinted in Christianity Today 6/21/63)

- "For over 20 years certain groups in Government have surreptitiously endeavored to devise some means by which they could bring all business and industry under the control of the Government . . . . The NRA was the first abortive effort to accomplish this purpose. Since then we have had OPA . . . ." (5/20/53 remarks at meeting of the General Board of the National Council of Churches)

--"Today our courts and our politicians spurn Natural Law. They refuse to accept it as the basic law of our land. Those of us who have given years of study to this problem believe that our country has already gone far beyond the limit of safety, and that only faith in God can turn back our plunge towards a totalitarian state." (The Freeman, July, 1957)

--"Communism, crime, and delinquency are not caused by poverty, bad laws, poor housing, or any other economic, social, or political condition. They are caused by sin." (1963 speech to United Presbyterian Men, op. cit.)

PRUSSION, KARL
San Diego, California

Lecturer and editor-publisher of Heads Up

Communist to 'Counterspy'

A native New Yorker, Karl Prussion was studying mechanical engineering at Wayne University in Detroit in 1933 when a tuition increase led him, he says, to join a Communist front group and then the Party itself. /Testimony at the Detroit hearings of the Dies Committee in 1938 named a "Karl Prussian" as a minor Party functionary and as active in the De Soto local of the United Auto Workers. Dies Committee, Public Hearings, Vol. 2, pp. 1562 and 1695/ By 1938, however, he says that he found his religious beliefs conflicting with Party doctrine ("You can't believe in both Communism and a Supreme Being") and from that time on he was a "reluctant Communist."

It appears that he made several efforts during the next 8 or 9 years to secure FBI acceptance as a "counter-agent" but without success. Meanwhile he moved from Michigan to New Mexico in 1940 and subsequently to California. After the war he succeeded in gaining FBI acceptance and "reassociated" with the Party, serving as a paid informer for the FBI for about a decade thereafter. According to Prussion himself, he was "an F.B.I. undercover agent" from late 1947 until August, 1959; however, FBI Director Hoover has said that he "furnished information concerning subversive activities on a confidential basis to this Bureau from 1949 to 1958" and that "he was not a Special Agent of the FBI." (10/18/62 letter. The Special Agent in charge of the FBI's San Francisco office had been even more precise, giving the dates as "from November, 1949 to July, 1958." San Francisco Chronicle 8/13/59)

On August 12, 1959, having made contact with the House Committee on Un-American Activities and been scheduled as a witness for them in hearings planned for the San Francisco area that year, Prussion made public his prior role as an informer. (San Francisco Examiner 8/13/59) In explanation for his decision to "surface," Prussion told HUAC: "I realized that the manner in which America was fighting communism was indeed an utter and complete failure" and that he felt he "could serve my country much better by leaving the services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and doing what I can to try to change, in my small way, the complacency and indifference of our citizenry to this menace." (p. 2084 of Hearings - see below) He gave substantially the same explanation in a later newspaper interview but added that he had been getting close to exposure. (San Francisco News-Call Bulletin 1/26/61. Preceding biographical information is based on this interview and Prussion's 5/13-14/60 testimony before HUAC, at pp. 2031 and 2083 of printed Hearings.)

HUAC testimony and after

The 1959 California hearings of HUAC were postponed, though it appears that Prussion did have one or more executive sessions with the Committee either that year or early the following (see comment by HUAC Staff Director Arens at p. 2038 of cited Hearings). When the Committee made its appearance in May, 1960, Prussion was one of the two "friendly" witnesses at the sessions which erupted into the famous "San Francisco riots." (Prussion testified at San Francisco on May 13th and 14th and subsequently at Washington on June 10th.) Regarding the disturbances, Prussion later said that the police "acted like perfect gentlemen." (Boise, Idaho Statesman 9/19/62) In his HUAC testimony Prussion stated flatly: "The Communist Party in the United States today is more influential in economic, political, and social circles than ever in its history." (p. 2033. Note that this was in 1960 after more than 7 years of the Eisenhower Administration.) Asked subsequently by Arens why he thought the Party had made these gains from the low point of the early 1950's," Prussion replied, "The major reasons have been some of the decisions of the Supreme Court as they pertain to certain individuals who came under the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act and also the visit to the U. S. of Premier Khrushchev." (p. 2204. In his earlier testimony he had said, "The greatest stimulant that the Communist Party of the United States has ever received has been the recent visit by Mr. Khrushchev." p. 2086)

During his testimony, Prussion also repeated the alleged quotation from Dimitry Manuilsky beginning "War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable," predicting that the Communists will launch "the most spectacular peace movement," and concluding that "as soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist." (Cited by Prussion at pp. 2052-3) While this alleged quotation is frequently repeated in rightist speeches and publications, the Library of Congress has reported that in spite of "an exhaustive search into the sources, we were never able to identify this quotation." (Letter of 1/6/60)

After his self-exposure as an informer, Prussion says the "Communist conspiracy" drove him into bankruptcy --he had been a "builder of tract homes" in the Bay area (News-Call Bulletin, op. cit.) At any rate he seems to have turned to anti-Communism as a full-time profession. At first he was associated with a new organization, Free Men Against Communism, Inc., headquartered in Sunnyvale, Calif. (ibid.); and soon he was making appearances on the lecture circuit. (He appeared at a "School of Americanism" held by the Freedom Center of Portland, Oregon -- see Sec 1 - ORG -- in November, 1961 and the following month was one of the speakers at a Project Alert in Los Angeles. American Eagle, Jan., 1962, and Americans on Guard, undated issue) At about that time he also began publication of a newsletter, Heads Up, "Dedicated to Fight Communism." (See Sec 3 - PUB)

"The Little Red Book" - 1962 campaign

A major target of Prussion's testimony before HUAC in 1960 had been the California Democratic Council, a federation of voluntary political clubs which, though not a part of the official party machinery, have been an important liberal factor in California Democratic politics. Prussion testified that the Communist Party had ordered members to join the CDC units and that "they /the Party/ obviously have a great deal of influence" in the CDC. (p. 2190 of Hearings) In 1962 Prussion expanded substantially on this thesis in a special pamphlet, issued as "a combined printing of three issues of Heads Up," California Dynasty of Communism. The pamphlet, which sold for 50¢ a copy, became a campaign issue in that year's Nixon-Brown gubernatorial race, coming to be known in the press as "The Little Red Book."

The CDC now was labelled by Prussion as the "red-organized and controlled California Democratic clubs" (p. 18) and "the political instrumentality of the communist conspiracy" (p.19), while Governor Brown, Attorney-General Mosk, and State Controller Cranston (all Democrats) were called "opportunistic appeasers and collaborators of those who would destroy us." (p. 11) A cropped photo with a misleading caption was utilized to help label Brown as "a red appeaser" (p. 24), and the pamphlet concluded with a plea to make election day "THE DAY THE DEDICATED COMMUNISTS..... THE FELLOW-TRAVELERS..... THE ONE-WORLDERS..... THE ANTI-ANTI-COMMUNISTS..... THE UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS..... THE AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION..... THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION..... THE UNELECTED RULERS ..... LOST CONTROL OF THE GREAT STATE OF CALIFORNIA." (p. 30)

The Republican state chairman called the Prussion booklet "scurrilous" and Nixon said that the attacks on Brown were "disgraceful" and that he wanted to "completely repudiate" the pamphlet. The Fair Campaign Practices Committee of California called it "unwarranted, vicious, and extraordinarily offensive." California Democrats were successful in securing a temporary court order ending distribution of the booklet for the remainder of the campaign. (Washington Post 10/8 and 17/62, N. Y. Times 10/21, 30 and 31/62, and Washington Star 11/6/62) Since then Prussion has resumed sale of the pamphlet and continued to advertise it in Heads Up. (See January, 1964 issue)

He has also continued his campaign against Gov. Brown. An Ad Hoc Committee to Recall Brown utilized the same postal address as Heads Up throughout 1963. In December, Prussion announced that a permanent Committee to Recall Governor Brown had been set up and was working to circulate a petition to that end.

As a final footnote to the 1962 campaign Prussion's strong support of the so-called Francis Amendment should be noted. This proposed addition to the state constitution would have authorized any appellate or superior court or any grand jury in the state, the state Attorney-Gen., or "any court, officer, board, commision, agency or other body" of the Federal government to make a legal finding that an organization is Communist, Communist-front, or subversive. In supporting testimony before a committee of the state Assembly, Prussion had said that the amendment "would greatly hamper the communists in their unobstructed drive toward a Soviet America." (Heads Up, Vol. I, #6, undated) Put on the ballot as the result of a petition drive, the amendment was opposed by both Brown and Nixon. It was defeated at the polls by a margin of nearly 3-to-2 (the actual vote was 1,978,320 for and 2,928,350 against).

Other activities

Prussion continues to be active on the lecture circuit. He is on the roster of speakers available through the John Birch Society's American Opinion Speakers Bureau. (Heads Up, March, 1963) He has been a major speaker, for at least two meetings of the Christian Crusade of Billy James Hargis (Sec 4 - SPEC, #11):

National Convention, August, 1962 (Weekly Crusader 8/16/62)

Anti-Communist Leadership School, February 1963 (Christian Crusade, May, 1963)

In April, 1963, he presided at the San Diego appearance of Hargis and Gen. Edwin Walker in their "Midnight Ride" tour. (Ibid., May, 1963) In September, 1963 he spoke at the national convention of We, The People! (Sec 1 - ORG). (Free Enterprise, November, 1963) Following this he had a "ten-day speaking tour" in Michigan during which he claimed to have addressed student bodies at 20 universities and colleges, in addition to his non-campus appearances. (Heads Up, Oct.-Nov., 1963)

In addition to his personal appearances, Prussion plugs a phonograph record, "Inside a Communist Cell," which he describes as "an expertly produced reenactment of a communist cell meeting." It is distributed by Key Records and sells for $3.98. (Ibid., Aug.-Sep., 1963)

Selected quotes

Some quotations reflecting Prussion's views follow (see also Sec 3 - PUB, Heads Up, for additional quotations).

--On colleges and universities: ". . . when the spirit of man and the soul of man and the name of God are never mentioned, never discussed at the universities, a man is readily prepared to accept membership into the Communist Party." (1960 HUAC Hearings, p. 2037)

--On labor unions: "The Communist Party is not too concerned about who the leadership of the trade union movement is at the present time, as long as it believes the trade union movement is being built and directed in the spirit of class struggle, class war generally ...." (Ibid., p. 2183)

-- On the John Birch Society: ". . . one of the too few organizations in America that is acutely aware of the Red Fascist menace in our midst, and is beginning to combat it in an organized, orderly and intelligent manner." (California Dynasty of Communism, p. 3)

-- On foreign policy: "Of course, the best solution is for our Nation to break off economic and diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and their satellites." (Heads Up, Oct.-Nov., 1963; see also Boise, Idaho Statesman 9/19/62)

-- On the Kennedy administration: "It should not be called a New Frontier - it should be called what it actually is. It is the Red Frontier and this is what we should call it. . . . The Communists initiated the words, 'New Frontier,' in 1956. Not only that, but the whole program, as set forth by the Communist Party, is today the program of the Kennedy Administration." (Free Enterprise, Nov., 1963)

Finally, it should be noted that a list of books recommended by Prussion as "excellent" for studying Communism, includes: The Politician, by Robert Welch; The Invisible Government, by Dan Smoot; The Naked Communist, by Cleon Skousen; and Keynes at Harvard, by the Veritas Foundation. (See Heads Up, January, 1964)

(Group Research, Inc.)

Born: New York City (1901)

B.S., Princeton (1924); LL.B., Columbia University (1932)

Founder and President, Chicago and Southern Air Lines (1933-1948)

Chairman, Board of Directors, Chicago and Southern Air Lines (1948-1953)

Chairman, Board of Directors, Delta C & S Air Lines (1953-1954)

Member, Board of Directors, Delta Air Lines (1954-1970)

Member, National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee, Office of Defense Mobilization (1953-1961)

Sanctioned but not personally involved in Putnam Letters Committee (Race and Reason, p. 12), which circulates much of his material on alleged inferiority of the Negro race.

Member, Board of Endorsers, Racial Studies Committee (1969 letterhead)

Speaker, "This Is The Problem!," Race and Reason Day address, Jackson, Mississippi, October 26, 1961; reprinted with above title in The Citizen, VI (November, 1961), pp. 12-33.

Speaker, remarks similar to above, New Orleans Citizens' Council rally, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 10, 1961 (The Citizen, 11/61, p. 13).

Speaker, "The Road to Reversal," Fifth Annual Attorney General's Conference for District Attorneys, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 16, 1962 (printed and distributed by National Putnam Letters Committee, Washington, D. C.).

Speaker, "These are the Guilty," Washington Putnam Letters Club, Washington, D. C., February 12, 1963 (printed and distributed by National Putnam Letters Committee, Washington, D. C.).

Speaker, "Framework For Love," University of California, Davis, California, December 17, 1964 (printed and distributed by National Putnam Letters Committee, Washington, D. C.).

Note: Three of Putnam's speeches are reprinted in the March, 1963, issue of The Citizen, official organ of the (White) Citizens' Councils of America, Jackson, Miss.

Author, Race and Reason: A Yankee View (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961); Louisiana State Board of Education adopted a resolution on July 25, 1961, making this book required reading for school administrators, teachers and "selected mature high school and college students," (resolution printed in The Citizen, 11/61, p. 34). See Sec 3 - PUB.

Author, "Three New Letters on Science and Race," National Putnam Letters Committee, N. Y., N. Y. (circa 1963).

Author, Race and Reality (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1967).

Author, "These Are The Guilty," Mankind Quarterly, July-Sept. 1963.

Open Letters

For about 10 years, Putnam has written open letters to the President of the United States which contend that school desegregation and other racial policies are incorrectly based on the equality of various racial groups and argue that there are "inborn human differences" -- a position which has been described as "scientific racism."

The letters have been widely published and distributed by groups opposed to racial integration and other rights, as outlined below:

Letter of October 13, 1958 to President Eisenhower, printed in Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 17, 1958 (original publication).

Letter of March 16, 1959 to Attorney General Rogers, printed in Charleston (South Carolina) News and Courier, March 22, 1959 (original publication).

Letter of May 6, 1964 to President Johnson; reprinted in Western Destiny, IX (September, 1964), p.16.

Letter of October 18, 1969 to President Nixon; inserted by Cong. John R. Rarick in Congressional Record (November 13, 1969), pp. E9630-E9632.

Cross references: The Citizen, Sec 3 - PUB

Mankind Quarterly, Sec 3 - PUB

International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics, Sec 1 - ORG

ROBERTS, ARCHIBALD E.
(Major, U. S. Army, deactivated)

Former information officer under Gen. Edwin A. Walker at Augsberg, Germany, and author of the "Pro-Blue" program of troop indoctrination which led to General Walker's public reprimand and resignation. (Washington Daily News 12/1/61; Christian Science Monitor, 12/2/61)

In September, 1961, Roberts was told by the Army that he had disqualified himself for information duty because of his activities in behalf of General Walker. According to the New York Times (4/22/62), he was then being credited by members of the John Birch Society with spearheading a letter-writing campaign on behalf of Walker after the latter had been removed from his command.

In April, 1962, Roberts spoke extemporaneously before the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Army having refused to clear his prepared text. In the speech, Roberts charged that Mayor Samuel W. Yorty of Los Angeles had a "communist background" and that Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams had "leftist leanings." The speech led to his suspension and subsequent loss of his active Army commission. Roberts later filed suit for reinstatement, but the case was dismissed. (New York Times 4/20/62; Washington Post 4/20/62, 4/21/62, 4/28/62, 2/19/63) Since then he has done some lecturing.

In an address to the South Dakota Taxpayers Association convention, Roberts said, "The three main issues which were emphasized in my DAR speech" were "the increasing control of the United States armed forces by the United Nations command; the elected officials who permit their high office to be exploited for Communist and Socialist causes; and the demagogic techniques employed in 'brain washing' American soldiers overseas through the propaganda of a Socialist press. (Rapid City, S.D., Daily Journal, 9/15/62)

Scheduled speaker, Pike's Peak Christian Crusade Anti-Communist Conference conducted by Billy James Hargis July 4-8, 1962 (brochure).

Additional Quotes:

"I predict that if the Internationalists are successful in establishing a totalitarian One World Government, with 'Peace and Security' enforced by an Armed United Nations, we will experience the complete decline and fall of our Christian Republic. U. S. citizens will then become servants of the super-state, and our children will be supervised by sociological drovers on an International animal farm.

"Today our soldiers are being brainwashed to accept mercenary service in a United Nations Army led by Communists." (Constitutional Guardian, 6/5/63)

ROBERTS, MAJOR ARCHIBALD E. (U.S. Army, Retired)
Fort Collins, Colorado

Author, Victory Denied (Chicago, Charles Hallberg and Co., 1965) (Sec 3 - PUB)

Now in his mid-fifties, Roberts was born in Cheboygan, Michigan. He attended Syracuse University one year (1933), and held a variety of jobs prior to enlisting in the army in 1939. He served in the Medical Corps during World War II, both in the Pacific and in Europe. He left active duty in 1945 and, with his brother, the late Richard Roberts (who had served with the Flying Tigers in China), ran an advertising agency in Denver, Colorado, until 1950. With the outbreak of the Korean War, Roberts returned to active duty, this time in the paratroops, and served continuously until his involuntary separation in 1962 (see below). Most of his assignments during this second tour of active duty appear to have been in the troop information field. (Biographical data from N. Y. Times 4/21/62, Denver Post 5/17/62, and Victory Denied, pp. 20 and 96.)

The Walker Case

In late 1959, Major Roberts was serving with the 24th Infantry Division in Germany, then under the command of General Edwin A. Walker. He played a key role in the preparation of the troop training program, popularly known as the "pro-Blue program," which was criticized in the press as reflecting a right-wing bias. Among the sources cited in the program were H. L. Hunt's Facts Forum magazine, materials prepared by Harding College's National Education Program, and Dr. Fred Schwarz's consultation with the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as well as the speeches of Major William E. Mayer (Sec 2 - IND), and various military sources. The general viewpoint reflected in the program is indicated by such quotes as: "the latest code word that has been given the free world by the master conspirators is the term 'coexistence;'" an offstage voice stating that Russia has violated 23 of 24 major agreements followed by, "Yet we are willing to once again sit down with these people and make agreements that we know they will break;" and ". . . in this mental war we have far less to fear from the fallout and much more to fear from the danger of the ever-present sell-out." (The text was inserted in the Congressional Record by Sen. Tower, August 10, 1961, pp. 16424-45, unbound edition.)

Robert's speeches and writings leave the impression that the reprimand administered to Gen. Walker was because of the "pro-Blue program." Defense Secretary McNamara's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee shows, however, that while the training program was prominently mentioned in news reports leading to the army's investigation, the reprimand itself was based on Walker's official recommendation of the ACA Voting Index to troops under his command, his distribution and recommendation of such books as Robert Welch's Life of John Birch and Victor Fox's Pentagon Case (Sec 3 - PUB), and his implications in a speech to dependents that former President Truman, Eleanor Roosevelt, and former Secretary of State Dean Acheson were "leftist influenced or affiliated." (Report of Inspector General as cited in 9/6/61 Hearings on Senate Resolution 191, pp. 12-13)

By the time the controversy over Gen. Walker began, in April, 1961, Maj. Roberts had left Germany and was serving in New York City. He contacted his former commander and, apparently with Gen. Walker's approval, set out to organize support for him, both through his own letters to senior army officers and Congressmen, and through an informal group that came to be called "Friends of General Walker." (A Chicago Tribune article 10/18/61 quotes Roberts as saying he "wrote a number of letters;" he told a Denver Post reporter seven months later that he organized a campaign of letters to "several thousand persons." Post 5/17/62) Among those contacted in organizing Walker's defense, Roberts has since written, were the General's uncle, Frank de Ganahl, John Keenan, publisher of Counter-Attack; and Merwin K. Hart of the National Economic Council. (Victory Denied, p. 125) Both DeGanahl and Hart were listed by the John Birch Society as members of its Committee of Endorsers, and Hart headed a chapter in New York. Also, Roberts now gives much credit for the public relations campaign to "the devotion of Mrs. Mark Byron." (Ibid., p. 127) He fails to note that Mrs. Byron was the wife of a "volunteer coordinator" of the Birch Society and herself active in Hart's chapter. (See N. Y. Post 5/23/62 for Mrs. Byron's report to the chapter that the pro-Walker "letter-writing campaign is going magnificently" but cautioning that Major Robert's "whole career would be in danger if the Army knew how he's working with us.")

Among other things, the "Friends of General Walker" carried out its own investigation of Overseas Weekly, the newspaper which had published the series critical of Walker and the training program. It was "the initial fruits" of this, Roberts says, that were employed by Congressman O. C. Fisher (D-Texas) in a major speech in defense of Walker. (Victory Denied, pp. 125-6; Fisher's speech appeared in the Congressional Record 5/24/61, pp. 8252-5.)

While Roberts says that "At about the same time," he was warned by the Army that he should not get involved in "organizing a 'pro-Walker campaign'" (Victory Denied, p. 129), it appears that no action was taken against him until the following October when he was reassigned, out of the troop information field, "because he had associated himself with written criticism of the army's official action in the case of Gen. Walker." (Chicago Tribune 10/18/61; see also Denver Post 5/17/62) It was not the end of the Major's difficulties with higher authorities.

The DAR Speech

As the Stennis Subcommittee of the Senate prepared to open public hearings on the issue of "military muzzling," Roberts continued to defend his training program with a speech under the auspices of Young Americans for Freedom. When the Army advised that the text had not been received in time for advance clearance, Roberts read, from the Congressional Record, excerpts from the "pro-Blue" script. (N. Y. Times and Washington Daily News 12/1/61) Later that month Roberts had a session with the staff of the Stennis Subcommittee, and in January, 1962, the public hearings began. Gen. Walker, who had announced his candidacy for governor

of Texas, appeared in early April. Meanwhile, Major Roberts had accepted an invitation to make a speech in April before the Daughters of the American Revolution. Again, he had speech clearance problems -- this time the Army rejected the prepared text, as reflecting adversely on the armed forces and reviving a case officially closed. (Washington Star 4/18/62)

Complaining that he had been given insufficient time to prepare a new text, Roberts appeared and made an extemporaneous speech which featured at least three charges that hit the headlines: that Mayor Sam Yorty, of Los Angeles, had "a communist background;" that former Governor G. Mennen Williams, of Michigan, was "of such leftist leanings that his policies . . . brought that state to the edge of bankruptcy;" and that "one channel" of the "civilian control /over the U. S. military/ terminates in the office of a Soviet communist" who "is immediately informed of all U. S. plans of self-defense." (Proceedings, 71st Continental Congress, Daughters of the American Revolution, pp. 184-5) Most of the rest of the speech dealt with Roberts's charges against Overseas Weekly and with Mayor Yorty, a former Congressman who, said Roberts, was reported by a "Washington Bureau /unnamed/ servicing the news media" to have interceded for Overseas Weekly in 1953 when an Army general had banned the paper from PX newsstands in his command. (Ibid., p. 187. Overseas Weekly advises that then-Congressman Yorty was not even contacted in the 1953 incident.)

The charge against Mayor Yorty, generally regarded as a conservative Democrat, was based on an affidavit that had been in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1938, under then-Chairman Martin Dies; it was repudiated by the Committee's 1962 Chairman, the late Francis Walter, who praised Yorty's "record of anti-communism." (N.Y. Times 4/20-21/62) The charge that a Russian Under-Secretary of the United Nations received "all U. S. plans of self-defense" was also declared "categorically untrue" by the Pentagon. (Ibid.) Former Governor Williams, an Assistant Secretary of State, was traveling in Africa and the charge against him went without much comment. Major Roberts was suspended by the Army, and a week later was relieved from active duty "because of improper statements" which the Secretary of the Army found to have "violated the traditional standards of conduct for an officer." (Ibid., 4/28/62) It may be noted that Roberts' book makes it clear that he has not withdrawn any of the three controversial charges. (See Sec 1 - PUB, Victory Denied)

While the Army contended that Roberts's release from active duty was technically an administrative rather than a disciplinary action, he appealed on the grounds that he was within two years of retirement and could not be separated without a hearing. (N.Y. Times 4/19/62 and 5/1/62) When his appeal was rejected (ibid. 5/9/62), he brought suit for reinstatement (ibid. 7/3/62). While he lost the suit in the lower court (Washington Post 2/19/63), an appeals court found that the Army had failed to follow the "prescribed procedures" in acting against him and ordered reinstatement (N.Y. Times 6/19/64). Soon after reinstatement, Roberts voluntarily retired but he continues to claim that the Army should give him an active duty promotion (to Lt. Colonel) retroactively and with back-pay, and reimburse him for his legal costs. (Washington Post 1/9/67)

Roberts vs. the U. N.

The charge that a Russian U. N. official was privy to our "defense plans" was the beginning of a campaign against the international organization which now seems to be Roberts's main preoccupation. At first Roberts attacked through speeches, such as his mid-1962 appearances at the Colorado Springs National Indignation Convention (Denver Post 6/10/62) and Rev. Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade Conference (July, 1962 brochure). In 1963 Roberts began appearing in print -- first in a lengthy letter to American Mercury magazine (April, 1963 issue), and a Colorado rightist publication, Constitutional Guardian (June 5, 1963) and then in two broadsides which he printed and distributed widely.

The first of these reprinted Roberts's open letter to the Governor and Legislature of Colorado, requesting an investigation of the United Nations. This was in line with a campaign Roberts had suggested earlier in 1963 in a speech to the Constitution Party convention in Indianapolis. Noting that the U. S. Senate had failed to investigate the U. N. and, indeed, had "delegated more power over our people and our military defense to this subversive organization," Roberts urged that the state legislatures be petitioned to do the job. (Text reprinted in Shasta County, Cal., Chronicle 11/21/63) The second broadside was headed "Why Your Soldier Son Serves Under the Command of a Soviet Communist" -- later to be the subtitle of Roberts's book. It also noted that a recording of this in speech form was available from Key Records. Roberts has since offered an "action kit" made up of this recording plus 100 copies of each broadside for use by groups wishing to petition their own legislatures.

Roberts has also continued his own speaking appearances -- before the Alabama legislature in March, 1965 (text inserted in Congressional Record 4/13/65, pp. A1802 ff); at the New England Rally for God, Family and Country (program and Christian Science Monitor 7/7/65); the Mississippi legislature (Summit Sun 12/15/66); and most recently at the Liberty Lobby meeting in Washington (mimeographed text of 1/7/67 speech). Roberts, who has been on the Board of Policy of Liberty Lobby (Sec 1-ORG) since mid-1964, reported to that group that his basic resolution, calling for action through the state legislatures, was endorsed in 1966 by We, The People and by Women for Constitutional Government, as well as by the Illinois department of the American Legion and the Colorado chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. (Ibid.) Meanwhile, in March, 1966, his book, Victory Denied, was published. It also concludes with a call to petition state legislatures to investigate the U. N. and declare its activities null and void within the state. (See Sec 5 - PUB)

While Roberts's main target is the United Nations, he indicated to one reporter that he regards this as only part of the real story:

> Roberts' theory is that the "international money bund" is using communism as a weapon to rule the world. In America, he says, control is vested in "The Establishment, whose brain is the Council on Foreign Relations." (Denver Post 6/10/64)

Sec 2 - IND
2/11/63

ROBNETT, GEORGE WASHINGTON
Pasadena, California

Director, Institute for Special Research (Sec 1 - ORG)

Founder and former Executive Secretary, The Church League of America (Sec 1 - ORG)

A Chicago advertising executive with a substantial library of the reports of state and Federal un-American activities committees, Robnett was one of the three organizers of The Church League of America. He served as its Executive Secretary and as editor of its News and Views from 1937 until late 1956 when he gave up the post "due to health and other personal demands" and moved to California. In September, 1962, he returned to Illinois to be a featured speaker at the dedication ceremonies for The Church League's new building. His speech was titled "The Menace of Organized 'Liberalism.'" (Sources for foregoing: 8/2/62 letter from Robnett, undated pamphlet "What Is The Church League of America?" and program of 1962 dedication ceremonies)

Robnett has attacked "religionists. . . of the intellectual-Left helping the Socialist-Communist cause by following their own prejudices against 'the profit system'" and "Minorityism" which he characterizes as "a new national disease which has grown out of New Deal Marxism where class is pitted against class and race against race to serve political expediency." (Quoted in Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, Beacon Press, 1953, p. 234. See also Robnett articles titled "The Hammer and Sickle Over the Churches," in United Evangelical Action, March and April, 1952, cited in ibid., p. 237.)

In August of 1952, Robnett served as chairman for the initial session of a Chicago meeting of right-wingers organized by Operation America, Inc. The meeting split over the "third-party" issue. (Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, Cross-Currents, Doubleday, 1956, p. 55. Forster and Epstein characterize Robnett as "an advertising executive with a convincing record of anti-minority-group activity. . . . When not occupied with the problems of public education, Robnett has spent his time plugging the books of the notorious Elizabeth Dilling; corresponding with Joseph P. Kamp; addressing the Citizens USA Committee; dubbing the Anti-Defamation League a destructive 'gestapo'; or writing such pamphlets as Can We Preserve Our American System in the Post-War World? which Gerald Smith offered as a premium to prospective members of his own organization." Ibid., p.172)

In October, 1943, Robnett brought suit for $100,000 in libel damages against author John Roy Carlson and publisher E. P. Dutton for alleged "false information defaming Robnett" in Under Cover. The jury in the first trial was unable to agree, a mistrial was declared during a second

trial, and in 1946 a third jury found for Robnett but awarded only nominal damages of $1. (New York Times 10/27/43, 11/22/45 and 9/26/46 and Chicago Tribune 9/26/46)

Two Robnett quotes:

"More and more evidence supports the claim, strongly advanced by many during the last decade or more, that the so-called NEW DEAL was in fact the biggest 'Communist-front' that has ever existed outside Russia. Continued disclosures indicate the New Deal was a sort of 'mother-front' inside of which was nurtured a yearly litter of 'pup-fronts'--each having some characteristics of the parent. With felinish fecundity these strange Marxist creatures were born--some bearing the marks of the black and white striped vixen that sprays and smears; some of the tigerish instinct that lurks for the kill; some of the sneaky-tricky-foxy variety; and others that like to operate underground as does the mole. * * *

"We have stressed here two keygroups (the 'Frankfurter men' and the 'Morgenthau men')--which, if you are alert, gives the KEY to what has truly become the AMERICAN PROBLEM." (News and Views, November, 1953; italics in original)

"Out of this. . . has come a socialistic 'pattern of action' by what may properly be called the Cult of the 'Liberals.' The central theory, promoted by the Socialists and Communists and accepted by the 'new Liberals' is that Big Government (the idealistic welfare government) is good and the competitive system of private enterprise is bad. . . . Whether they will acknowledge this or not (and many of them will not) most of the breast-beating 'liberals' today are 'revolutionists' because of this new religionistic ideology they have naively accepted." ("What Is Liberalism?" in The Crusade Against Government Investigating Agencies)

(Group Research, Inc.)

ROUSSELOT, HON. JOHN H.
California

District Director of the six-state Western Division of the John Birch Society. (Whittier, Calif. Daily News 3/22/63)

Elected Republican Representative, 25th Congressional District (Los Angeles County), California, 1960. Defeated, Nov. 1962, in new district.

President and owner, John H. Rousselot & Associates, public relations consultants (Congressional Directory, 87th Congress, 2nd Session)

Former Director, Civic Affairs Associates, Inc., 1959-1960. (Reports filed with D. C. Supervisor of Corporations)

Speaker: Human Events Political Action Conference, Jan. 1961, July 1962

Christian Crusade's "National Anti-Communist Leadership School," Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1/29-2/2/62; Christian Crusade's 4th National Convention, 8/3-5/62 (Weekly Crusader, 6/13/62)

Doctors for Americanism Dinner, 4/12/62 (letter)

Washington meeting called by Billy James Hargis, March, 1962, for the coordination of conservative effort (Pearson, Washington Post, 3/29/62)

New England Rally for God & Country, introduced by Robert Welch (Boston Herald, 1/7/63)

Member: John Birch Society, Los Angeles Chapter (Washington Star, 4/1/61)

National Advisory Board, Christian Crusade (undated brochure)

Committee for the Coordination of Conservative Effort (Hargis meeting, Mar. 1962) (Now called Anti-Communist Liaison)

National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom (1963 brochure)

Advisory Board, American Committee to Free Cuba, Inc. (News letter, Feb. 1963)

Available Speaker, American Opinion Speaker's Bureau (brochure, 1962)

Recipient, Christian Crusade's 1962 Statesman of the Year Award (Christian Crusade, Sept. 1962, p. 8)

(Group Research, Inc.)

RUTHENBURG, LOUIS, Evansville, Ind.

Industrial Consultant. Born 1888; student, Purdue University, 1905-1907. President, Servel, Inc., 1934-49; Chairman of the Board, 1949-59. Director, St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank, 1945-56. Chairman for Indiana, Committee for Economic Development, 1943-46. President, Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association, 1950. Director, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce and former President (1941-42). Received first annual award of National Metal Trade Association for outstanding achievement in industrial relations. Vice Chairman, National Committee for the Repeal of Wartime Excise Taxes (1950), Business Committee on Emergency Corporate Taxation (1950, and a witness before a Congressional committee in 1951 for the National Committee for Fair Emergency Excise Taxation, all of which were composed of businessmen representing the position of their industries on pending tax bills. (Who's Who, 1962-63; N. Y. Times, 10/10/49; 2/16/50; 11/10/50; 3/8/51)

National Council, John Birch Society (5/63 letterhead)

National Board, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (N. Y. Times 8/30/59), a John Birch "front" (Welch, Blue Book, 4th edit., p. ix)

National Advisory Committee, Committee on Pan American Policy (1/10/63 letterhead)

Endorser, Manion Forum (4/2/62 list)

National Advisory Board, We, the People! (1962 brochure)

Wake Up American Committee (Free Enterprise, Oct., 1963)

Board of Advisors, National Labor-Management Foundation (mastheads, Partners, 6/49 through 7-8/62)

Member, Emergency Committee for Chinese Refugees (N. Y. Times adv., 6/7/62)

Member, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine (10/30/63 letterhead)

Member, International Advisory Council for the Hall of Free Enterprise, a project sponsored by the American Economic Foundation (1962 booklet)

Member, National Policy Committee, For America (1957 brochure)

Former trustee, American Enterprise Association (various AEA publications)

Sponsor, 1962 Madison Square Garden Rally of Young Americans for Freedom (3/63 New Guard)

Contributed $245 to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists in 1959 (Publicly available portion of Form 990-A filed with Internal Revenue Service by ISI)

Contributed $100 to Americans for Constitutional Action, May, 1962, and $500,

(replaces Schlafly page dated 8/27/62)

Sec 2 - IND
1/14/65

SCHLAFLY, PHYLLIS STEWART (MRS. JOHN FRED JR.)
Alton, Illinois

Research Director, Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation (Sec 1 - ORG)

Biographical Data

Born in St. Louis in 1924, Mrs. Schlafly was educated at Convent of the Sacred Heart, Washington University (BA, 1944 -- Phi Beta Kappa), and Radcliffe College (MA in Political Science, 1945). She worked in Washington for a time "as a research worker for several congressmen and returned to St. Louis in 1946 to aid in Representative Claude I. Bakewell's campaign." /Bakewell was a Republican from St. Louis who served in the 80th and part of the 82nd Congresses./ From 1946 to 1949 she worked as research librarian at the First National Bank in St. Louis. Since October, 1949 she has been married to John Fred Schlafly, Jr. (Sec 2 - IND). Active in civic work she has been a director of the YWCA in Alton, a director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and commentator on a weekly broadcast of religious news sponsored by the Conference, among other activities. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 3/3/52 and Who's Who of American Women, 1961-62)

In A Choice Not an Echo, Mrs. Schlafly writes, "I have done volunteer work for the Republican Party ever since 1945." (p. 117) In 1952 and in 1960 she was the Republican candidate for Congress from her district (polling 35% of the vote in the earlier year and 29% in the latter.) Mrs. Schlafly says that the 1960 nomination was the result of an unauthorized write-in campaign and that she made no campaign. (Letter of 2/17/64) She was a delegate to the GOP National Convention in 1956, 1960 and 1964 (elected as a Goldwater supporter in the latter year). She has been an officer in the Illinois Federation of Republican Women since 1955, and has been President since 1960. In September she was elected 1st Vice-President of the National Federation. (Alton, Ill. Evening Telegraph 10/26/64)

In addition to her work with the Mindszenty Foundation, and her writings (see below), Mrs. Schlafly has had her own weekly radio broadcast since October, 1962. It is called "America, Wake Up" and is reportedly carried on 18 stations "as a public service presentation." (St. Louis Globe-Democrat 12/28/63)

She is also active as a public speaker (see ibid., DAR Magazine, June-July, 1964, and St. Louis Post-Dispatch 5/12 and 10/2/64); and in August, 1963, appeared (at her request) before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee against the nuclear test-ban treaty. (Hearings, pp. 906-16)

Organizational Ties

-- John Birch Society: In the JBS Bulletin for March, 1960, Robert Welch characterized Mrs. Schlafly as "a very loyal member of The John Birch Society." (p. 13) Early this year Mrs. Schlafly said, "I am not a member at all" and that the source cited "is clearly in error." (Letter of 2/17/64. A suggestion that the point be clarified between Mrs. Schlafly and Mr. Welch has so far gone unanswered.)

-- Daughters of the American Revolution: Member, DAR's National Resolutions Committee; former Illinois Chairman, National Defense Committee (1957-61); chairman of DAR National Defense Exhibit at the annual convention of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons (Sec 1 - ORG). (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, March, 1964)

-- Human Events: Early registrant for at least one Human Events Political Action Conference (January, 196

-- Intercollegiate Society of Individualists: Contributed $100 in 1958-9. (990A return)

-- American Committee to Free Cuba (Sec 1 - ORG): Its Advisory Board listed "Phyllis Schafly" as a member (December, 1963 letterhead)

Publications

Mrs. Schlafly has published two bibliographical pamphlets: Reading List for Americans (1954) and Inside the Communist Conspiracy (1959). The latter is a listing of some 116 books and reports, most of them standard fare in the right-wing. For example, 86 of the titles listed by Mrs. Schlafly appear on the "Approved List" of the John Birch Society. (See JBS Bulletin for April, 1962) Mrs. Schlafly includes such titles as Robert Welch's A World Gone Crazy, the Courtneys' Case of General Edwin A. Walker, the late Senator McCarthy's America's Retreat from Victory and McCarthyism: The Fight for America, Rosalie Gordon's Nine Men Against America, Dean Manion's The Key to Peace, and Keynes at Harvard, The Pentagon Case, and From Major Jordan's Diaries -- all characterized by her as "reliable books . . . on the subject of Communism." (Letter of 2/17/64)

This year, Mrs. Schlafly authored and published one of the three "best-sellers" of the political campaign, A Choice Not An Echo (121 pages, Pere Marquette Press. "Mrs. Schlafly set up the Pere Marquette Press in Alton, Ill., where she lives, as the publisher . . . . /It/ is simply a small order-taking office." N.Y. Times 10/4/6 Written primarily to support Senator Goldwater for the nomination -- its first two printings totalled 1.6 million copies prior to the GOP convention -- Choice continued to play a role during the campaign itself and the number of copies in circulation appear to have topped the 3-millio mark before election day. Like the other two "best-selle (John Stormer's None Dare Call It Treason and J. Evetts Haley's A Texan Looks at Lyndon), the Schlafly book was pushed by the John Birch Society and by many local Goldwater campaign headquarters. (See N. Y. Times 7/23, 9/27 and 10/4/64)

Choice is essentially an attack on the "small group of secret kingmakers" /the eastern, internationalist wing of the GOP/ who have "selected every Republican presidential nominee from 1936 through 1960," so as to "preser their America Last foreign policy." Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer said the book "made a major contribution" to Goldwater's nomination, and Gen. Thomas Lane, columni

for the conservative St. Louis Globe-Democrat, called it "the book of the year." (Both quotes in frontispiece of 3rd edition.) On the other hand, William Randolph Hearst, Jr. characterized it as "a book of fantastic political indictments" and "a monotonous reiteration of purported conspiracies" (Fair Comment, October, 1964); and the associate editor of the Denver Post called it a book "based on a fanciful version of American politics," said it is "full of false statements" and "is guilty of phony documentation" (10/29/64).

Late in the campaign, Mrs. Schlafly published her second book, The Gravediggers, this one co-authored with Adm. Chester Ward. It "attempts, but not convincingly, to develop the theme that the Kennedy-Johnson administration, Secretary of Defense McNamara and others want to help the Russians bury America and, hence, are weakening our military position and are aiming to leave us unarmed and helpless." (Denver Post, op. cit.) (See Sec 3-PUB, for fact-sheet on The Gravediggers)

Selected Quotes

-- On the Eisenhower Administration: "Eisenhower did his best . . . . But after eight years, the objective observer has to admit that we still had the same America Last foreign policy, there was no house-cleaning in the State Department, we accepted a stalemate instead of victory in Korea, and Federal spending was higher than ever." (A Choice Not An Echo, p. 66)

-- On the charge of "simple answers": "According to . . . egghead reasoning, present day problems are so complex that we must have sophisticated -- not simple -- solutions. Contrary to this argument, civilization progresses, freedom is won, and problems are solved because we have wonderful people who think up simple solutions. It is not the complicated, round-about Rube Goldberg approach that accomplishes anything, but the direct approach that goes to the heart of the problem." (Ibid., p. 81)

-- On the Communist challenge: "There is a very simple solution to what to do about the problem of world Communism: just stop helping the Communists. The Soviet empire would die of its own economic anemia if Democratic Administrations didn't keep giving it massive blood transfusions . . . ." (Ibid., p. 84)

"Time and time again, the Communist regime has been saved from collapse by American diplomatic, military or economic assistance -- under the America Last foreign policy dictated by the kingmakers . . . . This hidden policy of perpetuating the Red empire in order to perpetuate the high level of Federal spending and control is revealed in secret studies made by the Kennedy Administration." (Ibid., p. 115) The footnote reference here is to a 1962 study memorandum, "A World Effectively Controlled by the United Nations" by Lincoln Bloomfield, of M. I. T. This study is unclassified, not "secret." It is impossible to find any language in its 38 pages which would justify Mrs. Schlafly's characterization of it.

-- On the test-ban treaty: "The Moscow test ban treaty clearly puts us in the first stage of this long-range program to abolish all American military defenses." (Hearings before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, p. 908. Reference is to State Department Publication 7277.)

-- On the Gallup Poll: "The Gallup Poll has been used repeatedly as a subtle propaganda machine to sell the Republicans on the false propositions that the GOP cannot win unless it (1) continues the New Deal foreign policy and (2) names candidates who will appeal to left-leaning Democrats and liberals." (Choice, p. 45)

(Group Research, Inc.)

SHEARON, DR. MARJORIE

4/16/62

Owner and editor of newsletter, "Challenge to Socialism," published by Shearon Legislative Service, 8801 Jones Mill Road, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Specializes in attacks on medical health legislation as being "socialized medicine" conceived by gigantic subversive combine in early New Deal.

Testified against confirmation of Anna Rosenberg as Assistant Secretary of Defense, 1950.

Testified against confirmation of Wilbur J. Cohen as Assistant Secretary of HEW, March 23, 1961, representing Ohio Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Congress of Freedom, several John Birch local chapters, We, The People!, and similar right-wing groups. Testimony charged numerous proponents of medical care plans with being communists and attacked Cohen's loyalty specifically.
(Hearings before the Senate Committee on Finance, pages 129-227)

Told Committee she came to Washington in 1935 and worked for Works Progress Administration, Social Security Board, and Surgeon General. Resigned in January, 1945 and "within 10 days the Senate Republican Policy Committee hired me as a Consultant on Social Security and compulsory health insurance to the late Senator Robert A. Taft." Started newspaper July 2, 1947. Ph. D. from Columbia University, 1916.

Letter dated December 11, 1950, from Senator James E. Murray, former Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, stated that Mrs. Shearon worked on the Committee staff from March 21, 1947 to July 1 of same year when she was "discharged" by full committee, then controlled by Republican majority.

Sen. Murray said she was "guilty of repeated misrepresentations, falsehoods, and violations of committee confidence. She attacked the integrity and good faith of Senators of both parties and was guilty of violating the provisions of the Lobbying Act and of the Reorganization Act." To sum up, Mrs. Shearon "is an hysterical, psychopathic, and completely untrustworthy individual whose testimony is deserving of absolutely no credence whatsoever."
(Hearings before the Senate Committee on Armed Services, December, 1950, page 248.)

Administrator, Citizens Councils of America; Editor and Publisher of The Citizen; President of the Citizens' Council Forum. (Sometimes called White Citizens Councils)

The son of a local banker, Simmons was born in Utica, Miss. in July, 1916. He graduated from Mississippi College in 1937 and travelled in Europe and Latin America following college. In France when the Second World War broke out, he served as a civilian employee of the British Army, largely in Trinidad. After Pearl Harbor he joined the U. S. Navy but was soon discharged for medical reasons. He reportedly was an employee of the State Department in Washington for a year. Thereafter he was co-organizer of a short-lived, "non-sked", Louisiana airline and then an officer of a gas pipeline for several years. He returned to Mississippi around 1953-4. Since 1943 he was been married to the former Rebecca Reid of Greenville, S. C. (John Bartlow Martin, The Deep South Says "Never", N. Y. Ballantine Books, 1957, pp. 138-9 and N. Y. Times 9/28/62. See also James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, N. Y., Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962, pp. 71-2.)

Though not one of the 14 who organized the first Citizens Council (at Indianola, Miss. in July, 1954), Simmons is credited with organizing the Jackson unit the following year (Martin, op. cit., p. 14), and has played a leading role in the segregationist movement since he became "unpaid administrator" of the Mississippi state association soon thereafter. (N. Y. Times 9/28/62 and Hodding Carter III, The South Strikes Back, N. Y. Doubleday, 1959, p. 55. The former source indicated that even by 1962, Simmons drew "only a nominal salary from the organization.")

In the fall of 1955, a monthly paper began appearing under Simmons' editorship. Titled The Citizens' Council, it was the official publication of the state association until November, 1956, when it became the official publication of the national federation, Citizens' Councils of America, which had been formed the preceding April. In October, 1961, this publication changed to a magazine format with the name, The Citizen, but it is still the official organ of The Citizens' Councils. Simmons continues to top the masthead as Editor. (Serving with him as Business Manager of the magazine is Louis W. Hollis, who makes no secret of his John Birch Society membership. See Cook, op. cit., pp. 77 and 80)

Since April, 1957, Simmons has also been President of the Citizens Council Forum, the radio-television arm of the Councils. Beginning as a weekly TV series in Jackson, the Forum started in mid-1958, producing weekly tapes in Washington and making them available free to radio and television stations. (Carter, op. cit., 187-8)

The tapes are reportedly made at the House and Senate radio-TV studios, under the auspices of Sen. Eastland and Congressman John Bell Williams. They are not confined to the civil rights issue but have included interviews with Sen. Barry Goldwater (on the "political power of corrupt labor leaders"), Sen. Karl Mundt (on his proposal to "reform" the electoral college), Representatives Johansen and Dowdy (on foreign aid), Representative Mason (on Federal aid to education), and the President of the American Medical Association (on the dangers of medicare). (Cook, op. cit., pp. 81-2) By the fall of 19 the Forum was claiming that its tapes were being r quested by "more than 1,500 television and radio st tions in all 50 states." (The Citizen, January, 196

In addition to editing the magazine and heading radio-TV Forum, Simmons was, at some point, gi the added title of "Administrator" for the national s sociation of Councils. In 1962 he was characterize by James Graham Cook as "the most influential fig in the Association of Citizens' Councils of America Cook went on to report that "Many Mississippians he has more political power than any other man in State." (Op. cit., p. 66) He has been a leading sp man for the Councils outside the South, including a pearances at Yale, Notre Dame, Carleton College Minnesota) and Elmira College (in New York). (Se The Citizen, January, 1964)

Other Activities

On at least two occasions Simmons has been affil ated with other organizations, though in both cases they are organizations with a primary interest in se regation. He was named to the Advisory Committ of the Federation for Constitutional Government, o ganized in late 1955 and headed, until his death, by John U. Barr of New Orleans. Though it was char acterized by the Associated Press as "a co-ordinat group to try to bind the South's various pro-segrega tion forces into one big political stick" (12/29/55 di patch), the Federation itself claimed that its purpo was broader; "to promote constitutional governme and to "resist the nomination of leftist candidates, and oppose the adoption of Socialistic platforms." (1962 letterhead). Following the Federation's estab lishment, Barr told reporters that while they had " formal connection," the Federation "might work" w the Committee for Constitutional Government and t National Economic Council, since he knew both Mr Rumley and Mr. Hart and found himself in agreeme with their general views. (N. Y. Times 12/31/55)

More recently, Simmons was one of the organize of the fund-raising dinner last June which inaugurat a drive for unpledged electors in the Southern state the 1964 Presidential race. Major speakers at the ner were Tom Anderson of the John Birch Society's National Council, and Gov. George Wallace of Alab Also on the program was John Synon, currently the staff director of the Coordinating Committee for Fu mental American Freedoms (Sec 1 - ORG), the lead ing anti-Civil Rights bill lobby. (See Jackson, Mis Daily News 6/18/63 for story on $25-a-plate dinner

It is also noteworthy that under Simmons' editors The Citizen (and its predecessor) has not confined self to the single issue of segregation, but has take right-wing line on a variety of issues, including for eign policy. Sources either utilized or recommend by the publication have included: American Opinion the Circuit Riders, Dan Smoot, The Firing Line, L erty Lobby, the National Economic Council, John Flynn, and E. Merrill Root.

Views

On the focal issue of segregation, Simmons contends that the basic reason is that "there are distinct differences between the white and black races which make it advisable." He goes on to deny that he is "talking about total inferiority or superiority," but in the end leaves no real doubt as to his conviction that Negroes are inherently inferior. (See "The Race Problem Moves North," a 5/15/62 speech.) However, he contends that "it wouldn't make the slightest difference to the millions of American taxpayers whose preferences draw the lines if tomorrow, suddenly, all scientists everywhere in all fields would agree that the Caucasian and Negro races were equal or unequal . . . . Folks just don't behave that way. And thank goodness they don't." (5/14/60 speech at Elmira, N. Y., reprinted in Jackson Daily News 5/17/60)

While the work of the Citizens's Councils has essentially been a defense of the status quo, Simmons contends that the long-range goal must be more extreme. "Segregation is at best a temporary palliative," he is quoted as saying. "The only real solution is to establish a Negro state. Nothing less than physical separation of the races will really solve the problem." (Quoted by Cook in op. cit., p. 73)

Simmons has also made it clear repeatedly that he regards the race issue as only part of the broader dispute between conservatives and liberals. Thus he describes "the Southern system of race relations" as "essentially conservative. As is the nature of 'conservative' attitudes in general, it stems from general conclusions based on fact and experience. 'Liberal' attitudes . . . result from the opposite reasoning process. They start with a theory and then attempt to make reality fit the theory." (5/14/60 speech) More specifically, he has written:

> Integration of the races is not the only battle front in this wide-ranging social conflict. The rapid growth of big Government and centralization of power in Washington under an overweening bureaucracy, welfare statism, invasion of the reserved rights of the States, the replacement of a salvational by a social gospel, the collectivization of American life, confiscatory taxes, all are components of a total, all-out assault against American conservatism. ("Race in America: The Conservative Stand," inserted in Congressional Record by Rep. Williams, 2/25/60, p. 3153)

Similarly, in the early months of the Citizens'Council movement he had characterized it as "much more than a white supremacist group . . . . I think it is fundamentally the first real stirrings of a conservative revolt in this country . . . ." (Quoted in Carter, op. cit., p. 73) And in 1958 he asked an audience in Iowa: "Has it ever occurred to you that the social revolutionaries who are working to remake the South in their own image are not just interested in racial integration? They are above all collectivists . . . . Do not deceive yourselves. Since 1932 the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the other Deals have never wavered from one course. However soothing the words or how alluring the promises, that unswerving course is the steady march toward an all powerful centralized government." (Quoted in ibid., p. 205)

Finally, this same broad attack is reflected in his successful campaign in 1959 to end use by the Mississippi State Department of Education of a film distributed by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, "The High Wall." Simmons called the film "almost a classic example of the kind of integrationist and collectivist propaganda that the pressure groups have been using in this country, particularly in the educational and religious channels, for a number of years." (N. Y. Times 10/18/59)

WILLIAM J. SIMMONS

(Group Research, Inc.)

SMOOT, DAN
Box 9538, Lakewood Station, Dallas 14, Texas

Founder and president of Dan Smoot Report, Inc., which publishes the weekly Dan Smoot Report and originates nation-wide radio and TV broadcasts.

Was the commentator 3 1/2 years for H. L. Hunt's Facts Forum, defunct. Before that he spent 9 1/2 years in the FBI, following a year at Harvard on a teaching fellowship in English. Has BA and MA degrees from SMU in Dallas. Is about 45 years old.

When Smoot left Facts Forum in mid-1955 he announced he was starting his own program to produce "not both sides," but "one side, the American side." At that time he published an eight page report entitled, "This is My Side," which included the following viewpoints:

"The practice of buying votes with the voters' own money --- has become a successful political racket in the past 30 years * * *

"But when we build the central government into an all-powerful colossus--as we did under Roosevelt and Truman, and continue to do under Eisenhower--we place our freedom and our lives in the hands of political quacks and witch doctors in Washington whose power to destroy us is unchecked and unlimited.

"As philosophies of government, modern liberalism, communism, and fascism are all essentially the same.

" * * * you are headed for a slave society, whether you want to call it socialism, welfare-statism, communism, fascism, modern liberalism, New Dealism, Middle-of-the-Roadism, or by some more ancient name.

"If you want the government to provide you with clothing, housing, food, medical care, training in an occupation, and security in old age---get yourself a life term in prison. There you will have government---guaranteed economic security."

The Dan Smoot weekly reports of the last six years affirm his original statement of policy. Some titles of 1962 reports:

Economic Surrender-Parts I, II, and III
Political Surrender
Get the U. S. Out of the United Nations
Subversion and the State Department
Socialist Control in Washington
Federal Welfare Programs
Repeal the Income Tax

SMOOT, DAN (continued)

Defense or Surrender?
Our No-Win Policy

Additional quotes from Smoot:

—"The real subversive movement in American Schools has been led by people of good repute who, while not openly advocating communism or even socialism, have used our schools as a means of building a socialist America. Much of this has been fobbed off on parents and taxpayers under the labels of 'progressive' or 'modern' education." (Smoot Report 12/9157)

—"The fact that CIA should not let Cuban patriots alert the anti-Castro underground in Cuba (thus keeping the invaders from getting help inside Cuba and eliminating the possibility of an uprising against Castro), strongly reinforces the suspicion that the Cuban invasion fiasco was organized betrayal, planned in Washington and Moscow..." (Smoot Report 5/15/61)

—"The only basic difference between a democracy and a dictatorship of the proletariat is that rulers in a democracy really can be voted out of office periodically." (Smoot Report 5/8/61)

Besides defending and promoting his own philosophies, Smoot has staunchly defended others of similar beliefs, from the late Senator Joseph McCarthy to the recently retired General Edwin A. Walker.

Smoot has been a speaker for the DAR, "For America" and other conservative groups, and has been quoted favorably in The Freeman magazine.

Robert Welch has said in the Blue Book of the John Birch Society: "I think that the Dan Smoot Report because it is fairly short and is quite suitable to pick up for reading during fifteen minutes of waiting time should be in just as many doctors' and dentists' offices as possible."

A report in the Denver Post (4/19/61) on a Smoot speech was headlined "DAR Applauds Attack on Supreme Court Justice," referring to his call for impeachment of Earl Warren.

(Replaces Snowden - Swigert page dated 5/14/62)

Sec 2 - IND
9/27/62

SNOWDEN, ROBERT B.
Cotton Exchange Building, Memphis, Tennessee

Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society (1/62 brochure)
Trustee, Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. (1960-61 list)
Chairman, Campaign for the 48 States (defunct) (undated brochure)
Original finance chairman, Americans for Constitutional Action (Denver Post, 1/22/59) Trustee, 1959 (Labor, 11/28/59)
National Committee, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (3/19/62 letterhead)
National Advisory Committee, Christian Crusade (3/1/62 letterhead)
Endorser, Platform for Patriotic Americans (9/12/58 list)
National Board, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (N. Y. Times 8/30/59)
Sponsor, New Guard, the magazine of Young Americans for Freedom (3/62 issue)
National Advisory Board, We, The People! (1962 brochure)

SWIGERT, ERNEST G., Portland, Oregon

Former president, National Association of Manufacturers, 1957 (Vice-president, 1955)
Former member, National Council, John Birch Society (John Birch Society Bulletin, 1/60; but not in 1962 brochure)
National Committee, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (4/9/62 letterhead)
Endorser, Manion Forum (1962 list)
Committee for Equal Anti-Trust Law Protection (to restrain labor monopolies in the transportation industry), a Manion Forum group (1962 letter)
Executive Committee, Committee Against Summit Entanglements (N. Y. Times 8/30/59)

SMITH, GERALD LYMAN KENNETH
Tulsa, Okla., and Los Angeles, Calif.

Background: Now in his late sixties, Gerald L. K. Smith is possibly the most durable of the extremists on the American scene. The son of a Wisconsin minister, Gerald L. K. began as a minister himself but left that career in the early 1930's to join the Silver Shirt movement of William Dudley Pelley. Leaving Pelley to join the forces of Huey Long, Smith first gained national attention as orator at Long's funeral. Then, after a brief attempt to associate himself with the Townsend movement in California, he moved his operations to Michigan. At first a supporter and defender of Father Coughlin, Smith soon was operating his own organization, the Committee of One Million. (Not to be confused with the current Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China, etc.) This was to be the first of a number of organizations down through the years, which have seen him also shift his headquarters from Michigan to St. Louis and then to Los Angeles (while he and his wife apparently maintain a residence in Tulsa). Throughout most of this period his established propaganda vehicle has been The Cross and the Flag (Sec 3 - PUB), now in its third decade of publication. (Major source of biographical information: Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, Boston, Beacon Press, 1953, pp. 63-78.)

Characterization: A racist virtually from the beginning, Smith soon added anti-Semitism to his stock-in-trade and it became the focal point of his ideology, with anti-Catholicism thrown in from time to time. Two characterizations of the man and his work follow. One dates back to early 1946, when Smith was invited to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, then under the chairmanship of John Wood of Georgia. A group of House members submitted to the Committee a statement describing him as a "rascist propagandist" and as "America's most raucous purveyor of anti-Semitism and of racial and religious bigotry." (79th Congress, H. C. U. A., Testimony of Gerald L. K. Smith; also quoted in American Jewish Committee, The Home Front, 1/15/46)

One of the most recent characterizations is that of Mark Sherwin (The Extremists, N. Y., St. Martin's Press, 1963, p. 150), who writes of Smith: "He still functions on the West Coast, issues a frankly anti-Semitic publication . . . and generally follows the old isolationist line with regular attacks on the United Nations and all international thinkers."

Major organizations: Smith has utilized a variety of organizational forms during his career. The earliest major one was his Committee of One Million, established about 1937 and continuing until the early 1940's. In its later years it supported the program of the America First Committee and was able to secure the appearance of speakers such as former Senator Gerald Nye (R-ND) at its rallies. As Smith entered the political arena directly, he formed the America First Party, which appears to have been operated concurrently with the Committee of One Million for a time. In mid-1947 he officially launched the Christian Nationalist Crusade, which is still his principal organization. Other organizational names which have been reported as Smith-sponsored include: Christian Youth for America, Christian Veterans of America, National Emergency Committee, Nationalist News Service, Pilgrims of the Little Flower, Regular Republicans, and Christian Youth Against Communism. (See "partial compilation" in American Jewish Committee, For Your Information, November, 1960) Of current interest is the Citizens Congressional Committee, an admitted subsidiary of the Christian Nationalist Crusade. (See Sec 1 - ORG)

Former associates: Over the years, Smith has worke with a substantial number of people. At least two of his associates split with him over what appear to have been personal differences. One, John W. Hamilton, established his own racist organization, the Citizens Protective Association (see Roy, op. cit., pp. 131-3 and Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, The Troub makers, N. Y., Doubleday, 1952, pp. 165-8). Anothe Jonathan Ellsworth Perkins, wrote a denunciatory boo titled The Biggest Hypocrite in America: Gerald L. K Smith Unmasked (Los Angeles, American Foundation 1949).

For a long period, Smith's right-hand man was Don Lohbeck, who, according to Roy, came to Smith "by v of the America First Committee." (Ibid., p. 75) Lol beck is now in New Mexico, where he made an unsuccessful try for public office in 1962.

The following are a few (but by no means all) other Smith associates of previous years:

-- Marilyn Allen of Salt Lake City, Utah. As head of local Smith affiliate, the Utah Anti-Communist Leagu Miss Allen was active in 1950 when the target was the Senator Elbert D. Thomas. (See The Troublemakers, pp. 245-8) She is still reported active in Salt Lake C

-- Adm. John G. Crommelin, who is a perennial righ ist candidate in Alabama and has been a featured spea er under Smith auspices in past years. (See e.g. For Your Information, April, June and September, 1957)

-- Myron Fagan of the Cinema Educational Guild (Sec ORG). Smith and fellow-anti-Semite Joseph P. Kamp are reported to have given Fagan substantial assistan (See The Troublemakers, pp. 205-6)

-- Kenneth Goff of Englewood, Colo. Goff's current organization, Soldiers of the Cross, is a successor to Christian Youth for America, a group in which Goff w associated with Smith. (See Roy, op. cit., p. 63, Arnold Forster, A Measure of Freedom, N. Y., Doub day, 1950, p. 40, and The Troublemakers, p. 248)

-- Harvey Springer, also of Englewood, Colo., editor publisher of Western Voice. Primarily anti-Catholic now, Springer was allied with Smith in the 1940's. (T Troublemakers, pp. 126-39 and Roy, op. cit., pp. 1 and 200)

-- Rev. Wesley Swift of California. A one-time Ku Klux Klan organizer and subsequently chauffeur, body guard and research assistant to Smith, Swift has oper ated on his own as a racist and anti-Semite for a num of years. (The Troublemakers, pp. 27 and 204-5) A late as 1960 Swift was evidently continuing his collabo tion with Smith. (The Cross and The Flag, May, 196 He is still reported to be active in the state.

-- Jack B. Tenney, former Chairman of the Californ State Senate's Committee on Un-American Activities,

In 1946 he had denounced Smith and said that "Smith and his type of rabble-rousing crusader do more good for the Communist cause in one week than the Communists would be able to accomplish in one year." Six years later Tenney was the Vice-Presidential nominee on the Christian Nationalist ticket and was sharing platforms with Smith and Wesley Swift. (Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, Cross-Currents, N.Y., Doubleday, 1956, pp. 56-7) In 1962 Tenney was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination to Congress from California's 38th District.

Political Activities: Smith has consistently gone through the motions of entering the political arena but has an unbroken record of failure. In 1942 he sought the Republican nomination for the Senate in Michigan. He was defeated, but the 112,000 votes he polled in this local failure were to overshadow anything he ever achieved on the national scene. Smith has run three times for President -- in 1944 on the ticket of his America First Party, getting on the ballot in only Michigan and Texas; and in 1948 and 1956 on the Christian Nationalist ticket, getting on the ballot nowhere but getting a handful of write-in votes in California each time. The 1948 fiasco followed his offer of support to the States Rights ticket headed by Strom Thurmond, an offer which was repudiated. In the fall of 1950 Smith again came to national attention when it developed that he had been a major backstage figure in the attempted smear of Anna M. Rosenberg on the occasion of her appointment as Assistant Secretary of Defense. (See The Troublemakers, pp. 25-60 for this episode) A few weeks earlier, the Christian Nationalists had fielded a six-man ticket in the state of Missouri but, as usual, had received only token votes. (Ibid., pp. 244-5)

In 1951 and 1952, Smith was one of the leaders of the extremist fringe's anti-Eisenhower crusade. When this failed to block Eisenhower's nomination by the Republicans, Smith (like other extremists) nominated Gen. MacArthur on his own Christian Nationalist ticket. MacArthur's permission was neither sought nor furnished. (See Cross-Currents, pp. 45-61) Of the three tickets which appropriated the General's name the Christian Nationalists exhibited the most strength, getting on the ballot in eight states and accounting for nearly 80% of the roughly 18,000 votes MacArthur polled.

Finances: As an admittedly political organization, the Christian Nationalist Crusade files annual financial reports with the Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. In addition to total income and expenditures, these reports list contributors of $100 or more. The total income figures reported for each of the past twelve years are shown below. It is also noteworthy that the annual listings of contributions indicate that Smith's operations are, indeed, financed primarily by small contributors from all over the country. It is not known whether the income reported to the Clerk of the House includes subscriptions to The Cross and the Flag. If not, this source could account for roughly another $50,000 annually.

Year	Income	Year	Income
1951	$139,646	1957	$189,419
1952	202,360	1958	172,687
1953	185,370	1959	168,744
1954	155,136	1960	209,409
1955	165,255	1961	210,680
1956	173,967	1962	229,060

Bibliography: For more details on Smith's career and operations, see Roy, op. cit., esp. pp. 63-78, and Forster, A Measure of Freedom, esp. pp. 36-41. For Smith's ideological line, see particularly issues of The Cross and the Flag.

See also Sec 1 - ORG (Citizens Congressional Committee) and Sec 3 - PUB (The Cross and the Flag)

TANSILL, CHARLES C.

Professor Emeritus of Diplomatic History at Georgetown University.

Author: Back Door to War and numerous other books.

Member, Committee of Judges, John Birch Society Essay Contest (back, 1961 White Book).

Board of Consultants, Texas Voters for Enforcing the Constitution (1962 letterhead).

Contributor, American Mercury magazine (Sept.-Oct., 1962, masthead).

National Committee, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (1962 letterhead).

Member, Textbook Evaluation Committee, America's Future (1962 list).

Member, National Advisory Committee, Christian Crusade (1962 letterhead).

Identified by Mary Anne Raywid as having been a member of the Board of Governors of Allen Zoll's Federation of Conservatives (The Ax-Grinders, p. 141).

In 1952, received $3800 from the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship (Sec 1 - ORG).

Received $3000 "Distinguished Service Award" in 1959 and 1960 from William Volker Fund. (IRS Forms 990A) (Human Events, 9/1/61 says that in 1958 Tansill was awarded the William Volker Fund Prize of $15,000 for his outstanding work in the field of American diplomatic history. However, this does not appear in the reports to IRS.)

National Advisory Committee, Committee on Pan American Policy (1962 letterhead).

Tansill taught at American University; he left in 1936 or 1937 after an outspoken defense of Hitler and the Nazi regime. In 1955, while teaching at Georgetown University, he addressed the local chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties and was reported to be a member. He urged militant state action against school integration, making derogatory comments about Negroes, e.g., "The Negro is a moron." His employment was terminated. (Raywid, op. cit., p. 141)

An article by Tansill in Human Events (9/1/61) concluded:

> "There is really no need to worry about a five year program of foreign aid without the annual check on appropriations by Congress. War with Russia will come long before the end of that period."

(Group Research, Inc.)

American Opinion, Nov. 1964, page 65, says he was also adviser of the Republic of China between 1947 and 1948."
American Opinion, June 1965, page 1, also refers to him as formerly political editor of American Mercury

Sec 2 - IND
4/24/63

VARNEY, HAROLD LORD

President, Committee On Pan-American Policy (Sec 1 - ORG), co-founder with Allen A. Zoll (Sec 2 - IND) (incorporation papers).

Former member of the Industrial Workers of the World, for which he wrote a pamphlet, "Industrial Communism - IWW." Sometime before the early 1920's, he withdrew from the IWW and wrote "The Decline of the IWW."

Managing Director, the Italian Historical Society, 1927-33. (Who's Who, 1944-45) This organization published 15 or so books and pamphlets extolling Mussolini Italy. Varney himself published a pamphlet through the Society: "The Italian in Contemporary America." Varney was awarded (presumably for his activities with the Society), the Caveliere Crown of Italy by the Mussolini government. (Ibid.)

Co-owner, The Awakener Publishing Company, 1933, with the notorious extremist, Joseph P. Kamp. (E. A. Piller, Time Bomb, Arco Publishing Co., 1945, p. 38) Varney was also Assistant Editor of The Awakener. (Who's Who, 1944-45) The other Assistant Editor was Lawrence Dennis, "a native nazi." (John Roy Carlson, Under Cover, pp. 467-68, 470)

Speaker, Congress of Free Enterprise, June 3, 1937. Merwin K. Hart, anti-semite and former employee of Franco, presided. Some of the extremists who spoke with Varney were Elizabeth Dilling, Gerald L. K. Smith, and Miss Cathrine Curtis. (Ibid., pp. 459-460)

Assistant Editor, American Mercury, 1936-8 /during its respectable period/ (Who's Who, 1944-45); was again on the staff as Contributing Editor after 1953. Titles of some of his articles were: "Johns Hopkins Flunks Anti-Communist Test" (June, 1959), "Leftists Launch Hate Franco Drive" (Dec., 1959). His articles do not appear after 1960. During Varney's second period with the American Mercury in the 1950's, it was owned by Russell Maguire and was extremely anti-semitic. (See ADL FACTS, Oct.-Nov., 1959)

Manager, Pan-Pacific Press, 1938-40 (Who's Who, 1944-45)

Board of Governors, Federation of Conservatives, an Allen Zoll organization (undated brochure)

Member, National Advisory Board, Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade (1962 brochure)

Quotations: (from a Varney speech inserted by Congressman Ashbrook (R-Ohio) in the Congressional Record, Feb. 23, 1963, pp. 2548-9):

—"So unrealistic and Communist-deceived are the minds which are now shaping our administration Latin American policies, that they are actually encouraging Betancourt's maneuvers."

—"If, in this fluid situation, I could designate a top leader of this mask wearing Communist operation, I would name Romulo Betancourt, . . . "

—"We are fast becoming a nation of little Red-Riding Hoods who will never recognize the wolf until he starts to eat us up."

(Group Research, Inc.)

WESTERN DESTINY

Published by Noontide Press - Business office: 115 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90004, Circulation and editorial office: P. O. Box 76062, Los Angeles, California 90005

Background

Western Destiny first appeared in June, 1964, as a monthly publication and was acknowledged as the successor to Northern World, which published volumes I-VII from 1956 through Spring, 1963, and its successor, Folk, which published volume VIII through December, 1963.

Business offices for Western Destiny were initially listed at P. O. Box 713, Sausalito, California, while editorial offices were listed at P. O. Box 881, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Both were subsequently changed to the above addresses.

It should be noted, however, that Northern World and Folk were the official publications of the Northern League, which had its only American office in Sausalito. (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 1105) Offices for the Northern League are now in Minneapolis and its official publication, The Northlander, is issued from main offices in Amsterdam, Netherlands.

The first editorial in Western Destiny cited the principles and ideals of Francis Parker Yockey (Sec 2 - IND), as he set them forth in his major work, Imperium (Sec 3 - PUB). Quoting, as well, Willis A. Carto's "brilliant introduction" to the book, Western Destiny pledged itself to the political principles of these theorists and the preservation of the culture of the West. Congratulatory letters were printed from Tyler Kent, Kenneth Goff, W. A. Carto, and Verne P. Kaub.

In May, 1966, subscribers to Western Destiny were notified that the publication was to cease operations temporarily until interest in a publication of its type was sufficient to recommend continuation. Associate Editor E. L. Anderson told his readers:

> Most of the members of WESTERN DESTINY'S distinguished board of contributing editors, after our suspension, joined (American) MERCURY'S board. MERCURY is carrying on where WD left off, though directed at a larger audience. (letter to subscribers, May, 1966)

While it lasted (June, 1964 - May, 1966), Western Destiny was a monument to the mystical and occult followers of Yockeyism. Its pages contained articles on Yockey, Nordic folk myths and history, contributions on race and culture preservation, and advertisements of literature discussing these same topics. Such writing still appears occasionally in the American Mercury, its successor, which is operated by Carto.

Editorial Staff

T. Geoffrey Fowler, Editor; described as one who "met British thinkers who gave him an early grounding in 'Yockeyism'." (Western Destiny, February, 1965)

Roger Pearson, Editor; founder of Northern World in 1956; B.S, with honors, M.S., University of of London (Western Destiny, October, 1965); editor, Northern World and Folk. (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 1105)

E. L. Anderson, Associate Editor; ex-communist; Executive Committee Member, Conference of American Small Business Organizations, 1957-1967. (letterheads 1957-1967)

Edward Langford, Associate Editor; contributing editor, American Mercury (June, 1966); Colonel, British Indian Army, ret. (Western Destiny, May, 1965)

Frank Meyers, Managing Editor; contributing editor, American Mercury, (June, 1966).

Douglas Christiansen, Art Editor; name dropped from later issues.

Contributing editors

Bruce Anderson - chairman, Sons Society of America (Third Congress). (Appendix to statement submitted by Curtis Dall, Liberty Lobby, to Senate Finance Committee 8/10/62)

Austin J. App - English professor, LaSalle University; president, Federation of American Citizens of German Descent, Inc.; contributor, The Voice of the Federation; member, National Coordinating Committee, Friends of Rhodesian Independence (Washington's Birthday ltr., 1966); American Opinion Speaker's Bureau lecturer (American Opinion, May, 1966, p. 109); contributor, Soldaten Zeitung, National Zeitung and propagandist for Gerhard Frey (New Nazis of Germany, pp. 180-181); contributor to Mosley publications in England (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 618).

John Bean - Editor, Combat, official organ of the British National Party (offered on a subscription basis from Noontide Press, the American distributor, Western Destiny, August, 1965); organizer of British National Party since February, 1962; former leader of the National Labour Party and Combat, then official organ of the NLP; merged with Colin Jordan and White Defense League in 1960 to form BNP (British Political Fringe, pp. 17-21); candidate for Parliament on BNP ticket during October, 1964 election.

Ivor Benson - Contributing Editor, American Mercury (June, 1966); native of Rhodesia (Western Destiny, May, 1965); described as a "renowned Rhodesian journalist" (Western Destiny, October, 1965).

Brian Bradshaw - author, Communist Infiltration of Western Culture (Noontide Press).

Byram Campbell - author; American Race Theorists (Noontide Press); author , Race and Social Revolution (Noontide Press); contributing editor, The Truth Seeker.

Arthur Carroll - Founder, Group Investigation Associates; Partner in Third Reich Stamp Co.; Founder of John Birch chapter in Holyoke, Mass.; associated with American Nazi Party; claims to now be an investigator of extremist groups.(all data - Springfield, Mass. Union 1/23/65)

Arthur Keith Chesterton - former member of British Union of Fascists and editor of BUF organ, Action (The Fascists in Britain, p. 79); biographer, Oswald Mosley: Portrait of a Leader (Action Press, n.d.); offered propaganda position in Germany in 1938 but refused (The Fascists in Britain, p. 184); broke with Mosley in March, 1938 to later join British army in war (The Fascists in Britain, p. 186, 190); founder, League of Empire Loyalists (1954) and publisher of Candour, semi-official organ of LEL (Fascists in Britain, p. 199); serves on executive committee of LEL and acts as chief propagandist.

Thomas G. Chisholm - listed as contributing editor for Western Destiny, August and September, 1965, only.

Earnest Sevier Cox - died in Richmond, Virginia, April 26, 1966 at 86; authored White America and Teutonic Unity; friend to Marcus Garvey and "worked for Negro nationalist groups for 40 years;" described as "English-speaking world's foremost racial historian;" had planned to serve as a contributing editor to American Mercury when it took over Western Destiny subscriptions (American Mercury, June, 1966).

Brian Coyle -

Peter Crockford -

Gerrit Daams - assistant professor of philosophy, Kent State University; previously a lecturer at City College of New York (1948-1956); B.A. and M.A. at California Institute of Technology, Ph.D. at Columbia University; joined Western Destiny staff in September, 1965 (Western Destiny, October, 1965).

Barry Domville - admiral and Knight, retired 1935; former chief of naval intelligence, Royal Navy; arrested July 7, 1940 for leadership in British group--"The Link"--an Anglo-German society, and close associations with Heinrich Himmler; released from prison in 1943 (Fascists in Britain, pp. 196-198); "He had a somewhat naive approach to politics and international affairs which, more than anything else, appears to have been the cause of his own downfall. He saw the war as 'an attempt at national suicide' and, during his stay at Brixton, decided that the Jews and Freemasons were to blame. He coined the expression 'Judmas' to describe the 'mysterious power at work behind the scenes' controlling the actions of the figures visibly taking part in the government of the country." (Fascists in Britain, pp. 196-197).

Arthur Erhardt - publisher of books, propaganda tracts, and Nation Europa; former Nazi party member (Cross-Currents, p. 219; New Nazis of Germany, p. 172).

Andrew Fountaine - organizer, British National Party; presently national secretary, BNP; close associate of John Bean (British Political Fringe, pp. 18-21).

F. A. France -

Henry E. Garrett - professor emeritus, Columbia University; wrote introduction to Race and Reason by Carleton Putnam; founder and executive committee member, International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (advertisement for IAAEE, Western Destiny, July, 1964); editor Mankind Quarterly (Noontide Press, sole subscription agent in America -- Western Destiny, January, 1965); member, Draper Fund grant committee on genetics research (Madison, Wis. Capital Times, 3/18/60).

C. M. Goethe - honorary trustee, Patriotic Education, Inc. (1962); member, Board of Governors, Federation of Conservatives (1960); honorary president, American Coalition of Patriotic Societies (1965); contributed $175 to Christian Nationalist Crusade (1964); contributing editor, American Mercury (June, 1966); died July 10, 1966.

K. S. Hamilton -

S. V. Holroyd -

Richard Kelley Hoskins -

Douglas Kaye - editor and publisher, U. S. Nationalist Party Newsletter (1964).

Calvin E. Kephart - author, Races of Mankind.

Robert Kuttner - editor, Truth Seeker; member, policy board, Liberty Lobby (1964-1966); founding member, IAAEE; member, National Coordinating Committee, Friends of Rhodesian Independence (Washington's Birthday ltr., 1966); contributing editor, American Mercury(June, 1966)

Edward Langford - author, This Is a Republic, not a Democracy (Noontide Press).

Fabrice Laroche -

Martin A. Larson -

Ian Bruce Macleod - contributing editor, American Mercury (June, 1966).

Robert Milone -

Andrew Paul - contributing editor, American Mercury (June, 1966).

Peter Perry -

Henry S. von Potworski - associate editor, U. S. Nationalist Party Newsletter (1964); contributor,

National Renaissance Party Newsletter (Jan-Feb., 1967).

Herbert Rickert -

Joseph M. Salmon - contributing editor, American Mercury (June, 1966).

Herbert C. Sanborn - contributing editor, American Mercury (June, 1966).

Charles Smith - acknowledged philosopher (Western Destiny, May, 1965).

Drew L. Smith -

Derek Sones -

William Stephenson - former head, Virginia League, Newport News; editor, League newsletter.

John S. Sullivan - leader, U. S. Nationalist Party (Facts, 2/65); editor, The Anvil (April, 1965), official organ of the Labor Educational Association.

Dewey Taft - Director, "Conservative Party of America" (merged with National States Rights Party); Florida state chairman, National States Rights Party. (For Your Information, March, 1963)

Jack B. Tenney - former California legislator; created forerunner of California Senate Fact-finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities; Vice Presidential candidate with Gerald L. K. Smith (1952).

Ned Touchstone - Editor of The Councilor (3/1/69 masthead), an organ of the Louisiana (White) Citizens Council; member, board of policy, Liberty Lobby (1964-1965); speaker with Congress of Freedom (6/5/65, 4/15/66); contributing editor, American Mercury (June, 1966).

Ralph Townsend -

Edward Vargas - contributing editor, American Mercury (June, 1966).

Frank Volkmann - acknowledged as close friend of philosopher Charles Smith (Western Destiny, May, 1965).

Louis Zoul - member, board of policy, Liberty Lobby (1963-1965); author, Thugs and Communists (N.Y.: Public Opinion Press, 1959); author, The Soviet Inferno (N.Y.: Public Opinion, 1966).

Yockeyism

The Yockeyist cult is amply represented in the pages of Western Destiny, both directly and indirectly. There is evidence of a general subscription to the ideas of Yockey as expressed in Imperium and concern with Yockey as a historical personage and prophet. The following contributions substantiate these observations:

T. Geoffrey Fowler - "Anti-Bodies in The Western Organism," Western Destiny, X (February, 1965), pp. 7-9.

_____, "What Is A Culture Creator?", Western Destiny, IX (October, 1964), pp. 12-13.

Oscar Wyclif Harman, "Francis Parker Yockey: In Memoriam," Western Destiny, X (August, 1965) p. 9.

Richard Kelley Hoskins, "Two Controversial Ideas: A Glance At Yockey," Western Destiny, IX (July, 1964), pp. 5-15.

Henry S. von Potworski, "Francis Parker Yockey: His Genius, Our Inspiration," Western Destiny IX (October, 1964), pp. 8-9.

James William Maclellan, "The Western Imperium--Our Choice," Western Destiny, XI (April, 1966), pp. 11-12.

Cross-references

American Eugenics Party - advertised in Western Destiny (January, 1965, p. 18).

American Survival Party - New York City group which has literature identical to that of Truth Seeker, both of which promote Imperium.

Candour - semi-official organ of the British League of Empire Loyalists, led by A. K. Chesterton, had advertised in Western Destiny (July, 1964, p. 19); Chesterton, founder of the League and editor of Candour, is a contributing editor to Western Destiny.

International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics - advertised in Western Destiny (July, 1964, p. 19); see Mankind entry.

Mankind Quarterly - official journal of IAAEE; Noontide Press advertised as sole distributor in America (Western Destiny, January, 1965, p. 19); Henry E. Garrett, contributing editor for Western Destiny, is a founder of IAAEE and editor for Mankind Quarterly.

National States Rights Party - connected with British National Party (Thunderbolt, January, 1963); advertised Thunderbolt in Western Destiny (April, 1966).

Truth Seeker - notes to T. Geoffrey Fowler's article in February, 1965, edition of Western Destiny indicate Imperium published by Truth Seeker; note reference on American Survival Party; Campbell and Kuttner formerly with Truth Seeker.

Sources

Colin Cross, The Fascists in Britain (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1961).

Wellington Long, The New Nazis of Germany (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1968).

Kurt P. Tauber, Beyond Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism Since 1945 (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1967).

George Thayer, The British Political Fringe (London: Anthony Bland, 1965).

See also: Carto (Sec 2 - IND) and Liberty Lobby (Sec 1 - ORG) in Group Research, Inc. Directory.

WHITE, OPAL TANNER (MRS.)
Los Angeles, Calif.

Sec 2 - IND
7/1/63

Chairman, Citizens Congressional Committee (Sec 1 - ORG) (3/63 hand-out)

Member, Editorial Board, The Cross and the Flag (Sec 3 - PUB)

A frequent speaker at the annual meetings of the Congress of Freedom (see e.g. 1960 and 1961 programs and Summit, Miss. Sun 3/31/63 and 4/4/63)

Formerly Chairman, National Committee to Impeach /Chief Justice Warren and other members of the Supreme Court/ (see 1960 program of Congress of Freedom and The Cross and the Flag, May, 1961)

Background: Born and raised in Kankakee, Ill., the daughter of the late William E. Tanner, who was active in "nationalist farm organizations." Prior to joining Gerald L. K. Smith's staff, she was private secretary to the late Carl H. Mote, who was himself active on the right-wing. Mote, who was the owner of the Northern Indiana Telephone Co., was president of an organization called the Farmers Guild, and at one time published his own rightist periodical, America Preferred. When he died, he left Opal Tanner a "substantial legacy," some of which she reportedly invested in Smith's operations. (Sources for preceding: Congress of Freedom program for 1960 and Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, Boston, Beacon Press, 1953, p. 74)

She appears to have joined Smith's staff in 1947 and has been a top assistant since then. She held the job of office manager when his headquarters were in St. Louis and was reportedly characterized by Smith as one of "the most essential persons in the Christian Nationalist movement." (Roy, Ibid.) In 1950, she was one of the six Smith staff people put on the Missouri ballot, running unsuccessfully for state auditor. (Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, The Troublemakers, N. Y. Doubleday, 1952, p. 244) In 1952, she was one of the opening speakers at the Christian Nationalist convention that nominated (without permission) Gen. MacArthur for President. (Forster and Epstein, Cross-Currents, N. Y. Doubleday, 1956, p. 50) Since Smith's headquarters have been moved to California, she has married "a television producer" and lives in Hollywood. (1960 program of Congress of Freedom) As indicated above, she continues to be active as a Smith lieutenant, including occasional trips to Washington. (See, for example, Sec 1 - Citizens Congressional Committee)

Philosophy: Some sample quotes follow:
-- "Let America beware. We are being moved in on by enemies of our tradition as well as enemies of our way of life. The danger is not only that the black bloc is about to take over the United Nations, but the leadership of these blacks is predominantly pro-Moscow." (The Cross and the Flag, June, 1960)

-- /Reporting on the testimony of Gen. Walker before the Stennis Committee in 1962/ "The 'cards were stacked' against the great General, the Jew-controlled press and the effete internationalist clique advertised his testimony as a failure and made quotations out of context in a desperate effort to make one of the most

heroic and courageous military statesmen of the century look ridiculous." (Ibid., June, 1962. For a more extended example of her anti-Semitism, see "Hidden Manipulators Behind the Scenes" in the April, 1961, issue.)

--"/Sen. Joseph McCarthy/ was persecuted because he did not hesitate to speak the Truth when he found it. Those whom he exposed fought him because he dared to speak out." (1963 speech at Congress of Freedom, reprinted in The Greater Nebraskan, May, 1963)

-- "Make no mistake about it Disarmament is one of the major issues before the Congress and the American people today. The concern of patriots, and some few Congressmen, is not what Congress might pass, knowingly or unknowingly, but our concern is that of secret agreements, referred to as executive privilege or executive agreements." (Ibid.)

-- /After referring to the problem of crime in Washington, D. C., and implying that various Supreme Court decisions are largely responsible/ "This, too, is all part of a well-laid plan for the destruction of America, but you and I are not going to allow it to happen. We are not going to allow it to happen because we see behind the smooth facade. We understand the plan and we know the architects." (Ibid.)

YOCKEY, Francis Parker
(deceased)

Best known as author of Imperium, a book popular in some extreme right-wing circles.

Born September 18, 1917 in Chicago, Illinois, Francis Parker Yockey (alias William Black, Edward Max Brice, Francis Downey, Frank Downey, Franz Downey, Richard Hatch, Frank Healey, Edward Max Price, Max Price, Michael Taylor, Ulick Varange, and Frenz Yockey) died in San Francisco, California, on June 17, 1960, in a jail cell after two earlier attempts at suicide. A man of foreign intrigue and mystery, he died as well in rather mysterious circumstances after being arrested by Federal officials for passport violations. His activities and associates are still a matter of concern to Federal law enforcement officials.

Early activities

Graduating from Ludington High School and recognized as a brilliant and talented youth of great intellect, Yockey proceeded to hop from various universities for his educational training. These included the University of Michigan (1934-1935), and the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service (1936-1938) where he took his B.A., the University of Arizona (1938-1939, first semester), Northwestern University School of Law (1938-1939, second semester), De Paul University School of Law (1939-1940), and Notre Dame University School of Law (1940-1941) from which he graduated cum laude.

Leaving Notre Dame, Yockey entered the Army in 1941 but was given a medical discharge with honor in 1942 due to a condition of extreme paranoia. (San Francisco News Call Bulletin, 6/10/60; San Francisco Chronicle, 6/11/60)

Shortly after his release from the Army, Yockey passed the Michigan bar exam and was subsequently admitted to the Bar of Illinois on March 9, 1942 on a foreign license from Michigan. Between September 18, 1944 and December 31, 1944, Yockey served as Assistant Prosecuting Attorney for Wayne County, Michigan. Applying to the Office of Solicitor, Department of Labor and the Office of Price Administration through their Cleveland offices in March of 1945, Yockey worked briefly for the latter in Detroit. Also, sometime during this period, he practiced law with the firm of Thompson and Lannin, Mount Vernon, Illinois.

With the close of hostilities in Europe, Yockey took a position with the War Crimes Tribunal in Wiesbaden, Germany, where he served for eleven months between 1945-1946. While preparing trial briefs and background reports for the prosecution, Yockey came into conflict with his superiors. Under pressure to prepare proper indictments, Yockey quit his position and returned to the United States for five months. (Imperium, p. xii)

Political activities

Incensed at the humilities being cast upon the survivors of the German political machine he had witnessed at Wiesbaden, Yockey became captivated with his own views of weltpolitik. Returning to Europe in late 1947, he settled in Brittas Bay, Ireland where, in six months time, he turned out his masterpiece, Imperium. (Imperium, p. xii)

After much difficulty, the book was finally published in London in 1948. Printed in two volumes, 1,000 copies of the first tome were produced by C. A. Brooks & Co., Ltd., while only 200 copies of the second volume were published by Jones & Dale, Ltd. (Imperium, p. xii) An American edition would not appear until 1962.

While in London Yockey became involved in some of the rightist political movements operative in the great city still ridding itself of the destruction inflicted by the war. Organising the European Liberation Front in 1949, Yockey issued a manifesto, "The Proclomation of London," and immersed himself in organizing the new group. (Imperium, p. xiii) He set up the organization's official publication, Front Fighter, and occasionally wrote for it himself. (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 1120) Here he met:

L. F. Simmons - Director of Organization, European Liberation Front of Britain; formerly with the British Union of Fascists; still holds fascist view of government but broke with B.U.F. leader Oswald Mosley.

Anthony Gannon - owner of Westropa Press, London, publishing house for Front Fighter; former supporter of British Union of Fascists and a Mosley supporter in 1948.

Peter Huxley-Blythe - editor, Front Fighter; later editor of Northern World and Folk, forerunners of the Yockeyist publication, Western Destiny (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 1120).

Soon, however, the movement collapsed and he returned to the United States.

Wishing to return to Europe, Yockey joined the Red Cross in 1951. His first request for foreign duty had to be denied but soon a second opportunity arose. Traveling to Germany he made it known that he looked upon the Red Cross position as a vehicle for returning to the Continent. Due to conflicts with the military supervisory authorities, to which the Red Cross was then attached, he resigned, failing to complete his tour of duty. His separation was accepted with no requests that he reconsider or that he finish his tour of duty. He left the Red Cross in Germany in 1951 with no indication of future job commitments.

Still traveling in Europe, Yockey requested, but was denied, renewal of his passport by the State Department in 1952. After applying several times he remained in Europe and came under surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. (Imperium, p. xiii)

Failing to receive a passport renewal, Yockey apparently went underground and his activities from 1949 to 1960 are extremely difficult to determine.

He allegedly appeared as a guest speaker in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1950 at a gathering of members of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party. (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/11/60)

Press reports in 1954 linked Yockey to German rightist political leader Rudolph Aschenauer of Frankfurt. (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/11/60) He was later linked to Frederick Charles F. Weiss and the National Renaissance Party, both then in Yorkville, New York, and also to H. Keith Thompson, at one time an activist in both the left and right political fringes, who registered in 1952 with the State Department as the personal agent of Rudolph Aschenauer. (Reporter, 4/13/54, p. 14) When registering, Thompson listed Weiss and Ulick Varange as his associates. (Reporter, 4/13/54, p. 14)

Varange--the name Ulick being of Irish origin and meaning "reward of the mind" while Varange is derivative from the Varangians, a band of Norse heroes led by Rurik, who civilized Russia in the 9th Century, refers to a united Europe as the two names indicate western and eastern intellect (Imperium, p. xxiii) -- was the pseudonym used by Yockey in writing Imperium in 1948. Yockey may have been involved in the Bruderschaft, a movement in Germany which attempted to unite left and right-wing ideologues into a third political force. (see Beyond Eagle and Swastika, pp. 122-132)

While entering the United States at Oakland, California, Yockey was arrested on June 6, 1960. (see picture)

FRANCIS PARKER YOCKEY
1917-1960

Although Yockey had quietly entered the country the day before, he had called attention to himself when he discovered one of his bags was missing. Telephoning airline officials about the matter, he was subsequently captured and arrested, for his lost bag had already been opened and three passports discovered. Arraigned before U. S. Commissioner Joseph Karesh for passport violations, bail was set at $50,000 which served to indicate F.B.I. interest in detaining Yockey. (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/10/60)

At a subsequent hearing to reduce the bail fee, Yockey's attorney, suggested a mental examination to which Yockey vigorously protested, firing his attorney. (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/10/60) Mental examinations were subsequently ordered by Federal Judge William O. Sweigert, much to the protestations of Yockey. (San Francisco News-Call Bulletin, 6/15/60)

Earlier he had attempted suicide and escape to avoid the examinations. (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/15/60) Two days later Yockey was found in his cell dead, a lethal quantity of cyanide in his body. (San Francisco News-Call Bulletin, 6/17/60) He left a suicide note saying:

> "I shall write no message, which I know will never be delivered -- only this, which will be:
>
> You will never discover who helped me, for he is to be found in your own multitudinous ranks, at least outwardly."

Yockey was survived by two sisters who had come to San Francisco for his trial: Mrs. William D. Coyne, wife of a Navy commander then at Bethesda, Maryland (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/11/60) and Mrs. Alice Spurlock, a hospital x-ray technician living in Gilroy, California at the time (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/15/60). Though neither sister had heard from Yockey in some time, Mrs. Coyne characterized his ideology as anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic. (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/18/60) Yockey's wife, Alice, was reported to be living in San Antonio, Texas at the time of his arrest but did not appear at the hearing. (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/19/60)

Aside from attorneys, the only other person to see Yockey in his cell was Willis Carto, identified as the secretary of the Congress of Freedom and founder of the San Francisco Conservative Republican Hdq., who visited Yockey on June 10. (Carto now operates Liberty Lobby.) After Yockey's death, Carto was reported to have characterized him as a "creative genius" and "a great man." (San Francisco Chronicle 6/18/60) Carto subsequently wrote the introduction to the American edition of Imperium.

Writing

While Yockey used various names, the following publications are attributed to him:

Imperium (London: C. A. Brooks Co., Ltd., 1948) Vol. I

Imperium (London: Jones & Dale, Ltd., 1948), Vol. II

"The Proclamation of London," European Liberation Front, Loddon, (1949).

"America the Enemy," (pamphlet for distribution in the United States; confiscated by Federal authorities).

The American Destiny (incomplete book in Yockey's possession when arrested).

Enemy of Europe (completed book but never published as manuscript was to be translated into German).

"America's Two Political Factions," (article in two parts), Front Fighter, #22 and #23 (March and April, 1952), mimeographed bi-monthly newsletter of the European Liberation Front.

article, National Renaissance Bulletin (January, 1955)

Imperium, (Sausalito: Noontide Press, 1962).

Connections to other groups and publications

Christian Nationalist Party - Yockey reported to be spokesman at 1950 gathering in St. Louis (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/11/60).

National Renaissance Party - article by Yockey in Bulletin (January, 1955); promoters of Imperium in literature sales.

National States Rights Party - advertisement and article on Yockey in Thunderbolt, #55 (January, 1964) which was an offset reproduction of the material in Right, #59 (August, 1960).

Oliver, Revilo P. - articles on Yockey: "The Shadow of Empire--Francis Parker Yockey After Twenty Years," The American Mercury, #481 (June, 1960), pp. 24-30; review of Imperium in American Opinion magazine, (November, 1964).

Western Destiny:

Carto, Willis - visited Yockey in his San Francisco cell (San Francisco Chronicle, 6/18/60); wrote the introduction to the American edition of Imperium; closely connected with Noontide Press, publisher of Imperium and such magazines as Right and Western Destiny (see Sec 2 - IND); the Northern League, publisher of Northern World and Folk -- the acknowledged forerunners of Western Destiny, had offices in Sausalito, home of Noontide Press, the only American office for the organization (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 1105).

Harman, Oscar Wyatt - Chicago attorney; author, "Francis Parker Yockey: In Memoriam," Western Destiny, X (August, 1965), p. 4.

Huxley-Blythe, Peter J. - editor, Front Fighter (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 1120); later editor, Northern World and Folk, forerunners of Western Destiny.

Maclellan, James William - Yockeyist author, "The Western Imperium -- Our Choice," Western Destiny, XI (April, 1966), pp. 11-12.

Pearson, Roger - editor, Northern World, Folk, and Western Destiny (Beyond Eagle and Swastika, p. 1105).

Cross reference:

Carto, Willis - see Sec 2 - IND

Imperium - see Sec 1 - PUB

Western Destiny - Sec 1 - PUB

Sources:

Kurt P. Tauber, Beyond Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism Since 1945, 2 vols. (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1967).

Edmond Taylor, "Germany: Where Communism and Fascism Meet," (Reporter, [illegible] 1954, pp. 10-17).

German revival of interest in Yockey and Imperium has been reported by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson in seven columns from April 17 to May 19. The opening article is reproduced on the next page.

Currently inactive, Allen Zoll has had several periods of prominence on the right-wing scene, and numerous individuals and organizations who are still active tie into his groups. Zoll's activities in the late 1930's earned him characterization as "a fascist propagandist and supporter of Father Coughlin" (Arnold Forster, A Measure of Freedom, Doubleday, 1950, p. 74); during the late 1940's and early 1950's he was "a leading figure in bigoted attacks against the public schools" (American Jewish Committee, For Your Information, March, 1961); and in between he worked with such anti-Semites as Gerald L. K. Smith, Joseph P. Kamp, Upton Close and the late Merwin K. Hart. (Forster, op. cit., p. 75) In addition he was associated with J. B. Matthews, former research director of the Dies Committee and subsequently on the staff of the late Senator McCarthy's Subcommittee until his sweeping allegation of Communism in the churches resulted in his resignation (see Ibid pp. 77-78 on the Zoll-Matthews collaboration); and in 1952 he was an adviser to Russell Maguire, owner of the American Mercury during its period of blat anti-Semitism (see ADL, Facts, October-November, 1959).

Zoll's affinity for anti-Semites is further reflected in his endorsement of Joh O. Beaty's book, The Iron Curtain Over America (see Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, Beacon, 1953, pp. 84-84); Beaty also served on one of Zoll's organization --(see below) and in his proposal to work with the Arab League in a campaign "to stave off the influence of a 'Communist-Jewish wor conspiracy.'" (Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, Cross-Currents, Doub day, 1956, p. 314; see also pp. 315, 358 and 360) Finally, Zoll worked close with Gerald L. K. Smith's Draft MacArthur Committee in its activities at the 1952 Republican Convention, personally leading the MacArthur demonstration on the floor. (Roy, op. cit., pp. 15-19) Later that summer, Zoll was in attendance at the Chicago rally that resulted in the formation of the Constituti Party. (Cross-Currents, p. 55)

Zoll Organizations The following were founded by Zoll:

-- American Patriots, Inc., perhaps his earliest creation, earned a listing a "fascist" by the Attorney-General. (Roy, op. cit., p. 90) Speakers utilized by the group included Joseph McWilliams and Elizabeth Dilling. (John Roy Carlson, Under Cover, Dutton, 1943, pp. 48 and 143) The group's publicatio the American Patriot, carried, in the mid-1930's, an article by a Japanese agent, who wrote: "Japan is fighting /China/, not only in her own self-defens but also in the interest of civilization." (Quoted in ibid., p. 48)

-- National Council for American Education, organized in mid-1948, was the vehicle for his anti-school campaign which was virulent enough to lead one conservative critic of progressive education to say that "groups like those sponsored by Mr. Allen A. Zoll . . . can properly be characterized as enemi of public education." (Arthur Bestor, quoted in Mary Anne Raywid, The Ax-Grinders, Macmillan, 1962, p. 231) In addition to its newsletter, The Educa tional Guardian, NCAE published such pamphlets as Zoll's They Want Your Child! and Frank Chodorov's Private Schools: The Solution to America's Educational Problem. (Ibid., p. 223 and A Measure of Freedom, p. 77)

On page 3 a list of NCAE's officers is reproduced photographically. Following are brief notes on some of those listed.

Mrs. Frederick Bauer - 2nd Vice President, American Coalition of Patriotic Societies (Sec 1 - ORG) (8/62 letterhead)

Col. John Beaty - author of The Iron Curtain Over America (see above)

Mrs. Grace Brosseau - former President, American Coalition of Patriotic Societies (1958 pamphlet); a founder of Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice and also member of Joseph Kamp's Constitutional Educational League (Cross-Currents, p. 159)

Mrs. David Good - a national committeewoman of Ten Million Americans and a supporter of Gen. George Van Horn Moseley (Ibid.)

Verne Kaub - organizer and head of American Council of Christian Laymen (see Roy, op. cit., pp. 244-250); Director, Congress of Freedom (Summit, Miss. Sun 4/18/63); member, Board of Policy, Liberty Lobby (January, 1963, letterhead)

Mrs. E. Wyatt Payne - member, National Advisory Board, Christian Crusade (1962 brochure); State Chairman, National Committee for Economic Freedom (American Progress, Jan.-Feb., 1963); Regional Vice-President, We, The People! (1962 brochure); speaker at 1955 Congress of Freedom (Cross-Currents, p. 166)

Rev. Edward Lodge Curran - sometimes called the "Father Coughlin of the East" (see John Roy Carlson, The Plotters, Dutton, 1946, pp. 80-82 and Forster, A Measure of Freedom, p. 76, which refers to him as "Christian Fronter")

Dr. George Cutten - a Director, National Economic Council (7/16/62 letterhead)

Alan Dolliver - a Director, National Economic Council (Ibid.)

-- American Intelligence Agency, an "inside story" newsletter. (A Measure of Freedom, p. 74 and Roy, op. cit., p. 249)

-- Federation of Conservatives, a Washington-based organization, was set up to "Save America from Socialism. "The Federation warned of the "'liberal' - socialist conspirators" in the following terms (from a 1960 brochure):

Leftist Campaign Against The United States

The campaign of the leftist conspiracy to destroy America is carried forward on four major fronts:

(1) Destruction (of the Constitution and American traditions)
(2) Centralization (elimination of the States as political entities)
(3) Confiscation
  (a) of our gold
  (b) of the value of our money through inflation
  (c) of our individual wealth through progressive income taxes and inheritance taxes
(4) World government (to destroy the United States as a sovereign nation and cause it to be absorbed by an international organization completely controlled by aliens).

the American Coalition (Mrs. Bauer, Gen. del Valle, Dr. Goethe, Mrs. Leetch, Mr. Osborne, and Adm. Powell); in addition, at least six of the organizations affiliated with the Coalition are also represented on Zoll letterheads.

Christian Crusade - In 1960, Zoll was a member of Hargis's National Advisory Committee (1960 brochure). In the summer of 1961, reportedly following his employment by Hargis as a fund-raiser, Zoll sold his library to the Christian Crusade. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2/27/62) Finally, 13 persons on Hargis's 1962 Advisory Committee have also appeared on one or more of the Zoll letterheads.

John Birch Society - No less than 17 of those who have been in the leadership of Zoll organizations are officers or endorsers of the John Birch Society.

Verne P. Kaub and the American Council of Christian Laymen - Kaub was listed as a Vice-President of Zoll's NCAE (see p. 3 above); in return, Zoll and J. B. Matthews co-authored a pamphlet, How Red is the Federal Council of Churches?, which was published and distributed by Kaub's American Council of Christian Laymen. (A Measure of Freedom, pp. 77-78; see also Roy, op. cit., pp. 249-50)

Additional Sources: In addition to citations given in the preceding, material on Zoll may be found in the New York World-Telegram 8/25/48 and 4/24/53; McCall's, Sept., 1951 and Sept., 1952; The Nation's Schools, Jan. and Feb., 1951; Saturday Review of Literature, 9/8/51; and Time, 5/4/53.

According to article in Amarillo Daily News, reproduced on page 5 of Nov. 1961 Christian Crusade, Zoll is director of membership of Christian Crusade organization. Item placed in C.C. file.

Francisco Post Office Box has continued to serve as the address for Liberty Lobby's "West Coast Office." (See April, 1964 letterhead, for example)

In addition to serving as Treasurer and on the Liberty Lobby Board of Policy, Carto has represented the organization at other right-wing meetings, such as Congress of Freedom and We, The People! (see above). More recently he has appeared on the program of both the 1963 and 1964 "Schools of Politics" conducted by the Government Education Foundation, which is closely interlocked with Liberty Lobby. (See Sec 1 - ORG) While the nominal head of Liberty Lobby is Curtis Dall and its Executive Secretary now is W. B. Hicks (formerly with Human Events), Carto is generally considered to be the moving spirit as well as the originator of the operation.

Some Quotes

--On the space program: "Our venture to infinity will be very short-lived if we come home to an earth peopled with a rapidly degenerating human species; to nights that crawl with the prowlings of depraved, raceless savages . . .; to a tyranny over our government exercised by organized and predatory minorities; to impossible taxes to support degenerative 'welfare' schemes that are deliberately designed to proliferate the unfit and inferior at the expense of the productive and creative; . . . ." (Introduction to Imperium, pp. xl-xli)

--On education: "Americans can no longer tolerate the subversion of their educational system. Most of the professional 'Reducators,' such as Clark Kerr, super-liberal UC /Univ. of California/ prexy, are completely failing in their responsibility to teach their charges the truth or prepare them for life in the real world. Unless something is done immediately to force the teaching of the facts of Communism as it is instead of how the Communists teach it should be, we are utterly lost." (Right, June, 1960, italics in original) In replying (for Liberty Lobby) to a questionnaire on education, Carto rated the "situation in public schools generally undesirable" on every category, including "subversive textbooks," "teacher loyalty," "un-American, anti-Christian content," "Godlessness in schools," "indifference to American tradition" and "domination by anti-intellectuals." (Mary Anne Raywid, The Ax-Grinders, N. Y., Macmillan, 1962, p.15)

--On the churches: "They all have a basic antipathy towards Marxism because of its atheism. But they are effective anti-Marxists only if their disagreement with atheism is deep and earnest. For the creed of a great many so-called 'Christian' churches and prominent churchmen can only be described as communistic, with the impertinence added of their daring to invoke Divine blessing for the apostasy." (American Opinion, Feb., 1959)

--On Hawaiian statehood: "Gentlemen, this is a road with no ending. This is the road to world government. It is the highway through the gradual watering down of the idea of American nationality and nation-hood to a meaningless, characterless, cosmopolitan universality. It is a violence to American sovereignty. It is suicide." (1959 testimony before Senate Interior Committee, reprinted in Right, March, 1959)

--On Foreign Policy: "Ever since before the end of the war, and in spite of complete knowledge of the facts, the Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower Administrations have done perhaps irreparable harm to our military position through bungling and stupid decisions." (Right, Nov., 1958)

--On the Peace Corps: "The ultimate expression of this militant water-pistol imperialism is the hilarious yet deeply symbolic 'Peace Corpse,' /spelling in original/ the true expression of the zeitgeist. Created out of the typically American combination of abysmal do-good stupidity and inability to gauge the feelings of others, and enlightened greed, this is the perfect symbol for today." (Introduction to Imperium, p.xxxiii)

--On "capitalism vs. communism": "Perhaps the most important single result of the general acceptance of Marx's sham antithesis, 'communism vs. capitalism,' is that it has led anti-Communists to take sides in the argument as if it were real. /According to Carto, "by 'capitalism' Marx meant nothing more specific than the economic world of man; and by 'communism,' as an alleged cure for an alleged disease, he meant nothing but an unworkable, inhuman theory, doomed always to inevitable failure."/ . . . . Still another of the many negative effects of the manufactured dichotomy has been to teach people to think in terms of systems rather than people. This has helped to create the widely accepted but essentially communist fiction that the only difference between our Western Culture and certain others is a system with a name, and not our own peculiar, ancient, mores and institutions. This intellectual curse has helped the Communists and their 'liberal' allies and dupes to dehumanize history, knocking cultural individuality out of it; to reduce the story of civilization to an equalitarian, mechanistic, and essentially atheistic environmentalism and economic determinism. The much-touted historian, Arnold Toynbee, is one example. . . ." (American Opinion, July-August, 1959)

(Group Research, Inc.)